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THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

in the Revised Version

with introduction and notes

by

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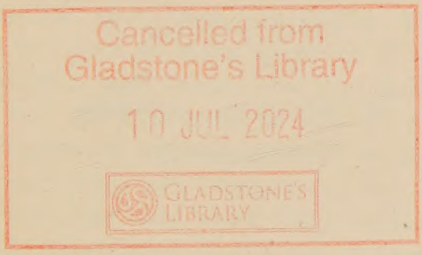

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PREFACE

BY THE

GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE present General Editor for the Old Testament in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges desires to say that, in accordance with the policy of his predecessor the Bishop of Worcester, he does not hold himself responsible for the particular interpretations adopted or for the opinions expressed by the editors of the several Books, nor has he endeavoured to bring them into agreement with one another. It is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion in regard to many questions of criticism and interpretation, and it seems best that these differences should find free expression in different volumes. He has endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, that the general scope and character of the series should be observed, and that views which have a reasonable claim to consideration should not be ignored, but he has felt it best that the final responsibility should, in general, rest with the individual contributors.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS viii

INTRODUCTION:

§ I. Contents and Literary Structure ... xii

§ II. The Sources xiv

§ III. The History contained in the Book ... xix

§ IV. The Religion of Israel in the time of Joshua xxxiii

TEXT AND NOTES 1

INDEX 225

MAP

Palestine ... ... *At the end*

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

Amarna Letters	Winckler's edn. 1896, is referred to: the only edn. in English.
Bennett	W. H. Bennett, *The Book of Joshua in Hebrew*, 1895, and *The Book of Joshua* (English text), 1899, in Haupt's Polychrome Bible.
Buhl	F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 1896.
C.B.	Cambridge Bible.
C.-H., or Carpenter-Harford	J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford, *The Hexateuch* [vol. ii.], 1900, containing the text in the R.V., with the sources distinguished typographically, and critical notes. Also *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, 1902 (a reprint of *The Hexateuch*, vol. i.).
CIS.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.*
D	Deuteronomy (7th cent. B.C.), or Deuteronomist.
DB.	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols., 1898—1904.
Dillmann	A. Dillmann, *Numeri, Deuteronomium u. Josua*, 2nd edn. 1886.
Driver	S. R. Driver in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, 1st edn. 1906.
Dtc.	Deuteronomic.
E	Elohist, Hexateuchal source, written probably in the Northern Kingdom, 9th—8th cent. B.C.
Enc. Bibl.	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black, 4 vols., 1899—1903.

EVV.	English Versions, Authorised and Revised.
Hex.	Hexateuch, i.e. the Pentateuch and Joshua.
H.G. or *HGHL.*	G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 4th edn. 1896.
Holzinger	H. Holzinger, *Das Buch Josua*, 1901, in Nowack's series.
J	Jehovist, Hexateuchal source, written probably in Judah, 9th cent. B.C.
Jos.	Josephus, *Opera*, ed. B. Niese, 1887—1889.
JTS.	*Journal of Theological Studies.*
Judges	The Book of Judges in the Cambridge Bible.
KAT.[3]	*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd edn. 1903, by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler.
KB.	E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (transliterations and translations of Babylonian and Assyrian texts by various scholars), 6 vols,, 1889—1900.
Kh.	Khirbet = *ruin* (Arabic).
Ḳimḥi	The commentary of Rabbi David Ḳimḥi of Narbonne (A.D. 1160—1235), printed in Rabbinic Bibles.
LXX.	The Septuagint in Swete's edn. vol. i., 1887, 3rd edn. 1901, and Brooke and McLean's edn. *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i., part iv., 1917, with full critical apparatus. A special study of the Septuagint Version of *Joshua* has been published by G. Holmes, Cambr. Press, 1914. The LXX. of Joshua, as will be seen in the commentary which follows, is of great value and interest. It often presupposes a more correct type of Hebr. text than the M.T., and sometimes shews wider divergencies which cannot be explained as due to textual corruption or accident or design. Apparently the Hebr. text of Joshua was once current in two forms; the one which lay before the Gk. translators,

	and perhaps was generally accepted in Egypt; the other which is represented by the M.T., and perhaps was best known in Palestine. The latter form of the text remained open, possibly as late as 200 B.C., to additions which never found a place in the text used by the LXX.
LXX. cod. B	Codex Vaticanus, printed as the normal text by Swete and by Brooke-McLean.
LXX. cod. A	Codex Alexandrinus, a revision of cod. B often with a view to greater conformity with the Hebrew.
LXX. Lucian	Lucian's recension of the LXX., ed. by Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum pars prior graece*, 1883.
Midr. R.	The Midrash Rabbah.
M.T.	The Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible; so called because it was *handed down* by the *Massoretic* scribes (6—10 cent. A.D.).
NSI.	G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903.
om.	omit, omits.
Onom.	P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, 1870; written in Greek by Eusebius, and translated into Latin by Jerome. This edn. is cited by pages and lines.
PEF Qtly St.	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
Pesh.	Peshitto, the Syriac Version of the Bible. A critical study of the Syriac text of Joshua has been published by H. Mager, *Die Peschiṭtho zum Buche Josua*, 1916, who shews that most of the variants between Pesh. and M.T. are of a secondary nature, and due to reasons of style or corruption in the Hebr. Mager has made it clear that Lee's edn. of the text (1823) and Walton's in the London Polyglot (1657) are based upon the text of the Paris Polyglot (1645).

RD	The Deuteronomic Redactor.
RJE	The Redactor who combined J and E.
RP	The Priestly Redactor.
R.V.m.	Revised Version marginal note.
Steuernagel	C. Steuernagel, *Das Buch Josua*, 1899, in Nowack's series.
Talm. B.	The Babylonian Talmud.
Talm. J.	The Jerusalem Talmud.
Targ.	Targum, the Aramaic paraphrase of the Hebrew text.
Vulg.	Vulgate, Jerome's Latin Version of the Bible.
W.	Wadi, the Arabic for a valley or a watercourse (usually dry); or West, according to the context
ZATW.	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDPV.	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*

A small "superior" figure attached to the title of a book (e.g. *KAT.*[3]) indicates the *edition* of the work referred to.

In citations, e.g. Josh. vii. 25 *a*, ix. 27 *b*, the letters *a*, *b* (sometimes *c*, *d*) denote respectively the first and second (or third and fourth) parts of the verse cited.

The citations always refer to the English Version; where the Hebrew numbering differs from the English, the former is sometimes placed in square brackets.

In the transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic words or proper names the following equivalents are used:

' = א	j = ج
‘ = ע	ḳ = ק, ق
ḍ = ض	kh = خ
dh = ذ	ṣ = צ, ص
gh = غ	ṭ = ט, ط
ḥ = ח, ح	

INTRODUCTION

§ I. Contents and Literary Structure.

The book of Joshua describes the conquest and settlement of Canaan by the Israelites. It is thus a continuation of the Pentateuch; for it records the fulfilment of the promises made to the patriarchs, and the completion of the task which Moses began when he led the tribes out of Egypt: see Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 14—17, xv. 7, 18 J, xvii. 8 P, xxvi. 3 RJE, xxviii. 3 f. P, 13 f. J, xxxv. 11 f. P, Ex. iii. 8, 17 J, vi. 2—8 P, xxxii. 13 RJE, and Num. xiii. 17—xiv. 45 JEP, xxxii., xxxiii. P, Deut. i. 35—39, iii. 25—28, xxxi. 1—8, xxxiv. 1—4. Moreover, Joshua himself is represented as the successor of Moses, filled with his spirit, and loyal in carrying out his instructions: cf. Josh. i. 1—9 with Dt. xxxi. 1—8, 23; Josh. i. 12—18 with Num. xxxii. 28—32, Dt. iii. 18—22; Josh. viii. 30—35 with Dt. xi. 29, 30, xxvii. 1—8; Josh. x. 40, xi. 11, 12, 15 with Num. xxxiii. 52, Dt. vii. 2, xx. 16—18; Josh. xiii.—xix. with Num. xxxiv.; Josh. xx. with Num. xxxv. 9—34, Dt. xix. 7—10; Josh. xxi. 1—3 with Num. xxxv. 1—8. There is nothing to suggest that the history was to be broken off at the death of Moses; on the contrary, it is continued on the same lines down to the death of his successor, and indeed, with little more than a variation of method, to the end of the monarchy.

For the book of Joshua is connected with the preceding books not only by its contents, but by its literary structure. In this last particular Joshua so closely resembles the Pentateuch, that the word *Hexateuch* has been coined to

express the unity of plan or method which can be traced in the composition of the first six books of the Bible. The term is fully justified; but it must not be taken to imply that Joshua was once bound up with the Pentateuch, as it were, to form a single volume. In the Canon the book was given a place which shews that it was regarded as distinct from the books of Moses; they contained the law, while Joshua dealt with history; hence the book of Joshua comes first in what the Jewish Bible calls "the Former Prophets," i.e. Josh.—2 Kings.

But the literary structure of Joshua, while closely resembling that of the Pentateuch, is not identical with it. In the Pentateuch the chief sources JED are fitted into a framework of P; but in Joshua there is no such framework; rather we find that JE was first expanded by D, and that JED afterwards received additions from P. Thus in Part i. (chs. i.—xii.) the traces of P are comparatively slight; not till Part ii. (chs. xiii.—xxiv.), in the account of the distribution of the land, does P become the dominant source. P, therefore, does not hold the same place in Joshua as in the Pentateuch, and probably was not incorporated by the same hand (cf. p. 116). The change of subject-matter was felt, perhaps, to require a different treatment of the material. With the leadership of Joshua and the invasion of Canaan a new era began, which called for the composition of a new book; and this age ended naturally with another well-marked event, the death of Joshua, after which a fresh departure could be made (Jud. ii. 6 ff.).

The book is divided into two parts:—

PART I. CHS. I.—XII. THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

A. CHS. I.—V. INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVES.

1. *Preparations for the crossing of the Jordan*, ch. i.
2. *The sending of the spies*, ch. ii.
3. *The crossing of the Jordan*, chs. iii.—iv.
4. *The camp at Gilgal: circumcision*, ch. v.

B. Chs. vi.—xii. The Story of the Conquest.

1. *Conquest of the approaches to the Central Highlands*, chs. vi.—viii.
   a. *The capture of Jericho*, ch. vi.
   b. *The capture of Ai*, ch. vii. 1—viii. 29.
   c. *The ceremony at Gerizim and Ebal*, ch. viii. 30—35.
2. *Treaty with the Gibeonites*, ch. ix.
3. *Battle at Gibeon, and subjugation of the Southern Canaanites*, ch. x.
4. *Battle at the Waters of Merom, and subjugation of the Northern Canaanites*, ch. xi.
5. *List of the kings defeated on the E. and W. of Jordan*, ch. xii.

Part II. Chs. xiii.—xxiv. The Division of the Land.

1. *An introduction: the possessions of the Eastern Tribes*, ch. xiii.
2. *The division of the West: the possessions of Judah*, chs. xiv.—xv.
3. *The possessions of Joseph: Ephraim and Manasseh*, chs. xvi.—xvii.
4. *The allotment of the land at Shiloh: the possessions of Benjamin*, ch. xviii.
5. *The possessions of the six remaining Tribes*, ch. xix.
6. *The Cities of Refuge: the Levitical Cities*, chs. xx.—xxi.
7. *Dismissal of the warriors of the Eastern Tribes: the dispute about their altar*, ch. xxii.
8. *Joshua's first and second farewell: the covenant*, chs. xxiii.—xxiv.

§ II. The Sources.

The sources of the book are sufficiently defined in the commentary; all that need be done here is to point out their broader features, and the stages by which the text arrived at its present form.

(*a*) The older sources J (9th cent. B.C.) and E (9th—8th cent. B.C.) contribute the main narratives in the story of the conquest, chs. i.—xii. The two run side by side; but they are often so skilfully blended that it is difficult to separate them, and the analysis can only be experimental and uncertain. Both narrate the adventures of the spies (ii.), the passage of the Jordan (iii., iv.), the capture of Jericho (vi.) and of Ai (viii.), the treaty with the Gibeonites (ix.), the battle against the southern Canaanites at Beth-horon (x.). Not infrequently the two parallel versions describe the same event in different ways, or emphasize details which we are unable to reconcile, as may be seen by referring to the introductory notes on chs. iii., iv., viii., x. On the other hand J alone relates the vision of the Heavenly Champion (v. 13—15), the treachery of Achan (vii.), the battle against the northern Canaanites at the waters of Merom (xi. 1, 4—9); while E alone designates Joshua as the successor of Moses, and records the summons to prepare for the crossing of the Jordan (i. 1, 2, 10, 11 *a*), and in Part ii. gives Joshua's farewell address, and an account of the covenant and of the leader's death and burial (xxiv.).

But in addition to J's narratives of the invasion we come upon scattered fragments referring to the same subject, inserted in a context which clearly was not their original home: xiii. 13, xv. 14—19, 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 11—13, 14—18, xix. 47. With the exception of xv. 14—19, xvii. 14—18, these stray verses are not narratives like the J passages mentioned above; and they are almost identical with similar fragments preserved in Jud. i. Since they occur in both books, it is probable that the editors of Josh. and Jud. extracted them from the same source, an ancient survey of the conquest, which, on account of its obvious antiquity, may be marked as J; yet J with a difference. For in the fragments the tribes appear to act independently without any joint leader, although the suppression of Joshua's name in Jud. i. may be merely editorial (see p. xxix. *n.*), and the record is mainly one of failure; whereas, in the narratives, Joshua is the leader of the tribes, who combine

forces against the enemy and win important victories (e.g. vi., x., xi.): we gain an impression of wider conquests and of operations on a larger scale than the ancient extracts common to Jud. i. and Josh. seem to warrant. We conclude, therefore, that J was not a homogeneous source; it must be regarded as a collection of local traditions and stories of various origin and date.

How far J recorded the settlement of the land cannot be made out with certainty. Little more than hints of what may once have been a fairly full account survive here and there: thus xiii. 1, 7 *a*, if rightly assigned to J, contemplates the division of a land still largely unconquered; xvi. 1—3, xvii. 14—18, imply that the tribes had made use of the sacred lot to determine the direction which their enterprises should take; from xvii. 11—13 we may infer that J gave some account of the tribal territories.

It has been noticed above that E accompanies J as far as the battle of Beth-horon (x.); after that E's narrative seems to have been discarded in favour of other sources (e.g. x. 28—43, xi. 10—xii. 24 RD). In E Joshua comes to the front with greater distinctness as the leader of the tribes and the successful conqueror; the tribes act together as if they had already become a nation; according to xviii. 2—10, xxiv. 1 ff. the land has been subdued to an extent which the older traditions do not admit. In the section which deals with the allotment, xviii. 11—xix. 51, there is no clear evidence of any direct contribution from E; though P no doubt made use of early material (e.g. in xix. 1, 17, 32; see pp. 167 f., 172), and a comparison between xix. 49 f. and xxiv. 30 suggests that sometimes this material was drawn from E.

(*b*) The next stage in the history of the text was the combination of J and E to form a single narrative. This process, in Joshua as in the Pentateuch, was carried out by a redactor who may be called RJE. In weaving the two documents together he did his work so thoroughly that, as remarked above, it is often almost impossible to disentangle them; at the same time he found it necessary to

introduce links of connexion and harmonizing phrases, such as can be detected in ii. 17, vi. 15 *b*, 17 *b*, viii. 13, x. 10 *b*. The account of Joshua's grant of Hebron to Caleb, xiv. 6—15, has been edited in the Deuteronomic manner, but the underlying basis is JE's narrative in Num. xiii., xiv., which may have been worked up by RJE before the Deuteronomic editor took it in hand. In xviii. 2—10 RJE has put together, from such data as J and E contained, a generalized statement on the subject of the conquest.

(*c*) At the stage which follows the book of Joshua underwent a transformation. When J and E are marked off in chs. i.—xii., what remains is chiefly the work of the Deuteronomic Redactor: it can be recognized at once by its strongly marked characteristics of language and ideas. Thus the hand of RD is unmistakable in the exhortations in ch. i., the comments on the memorial stones and the circumcision at Gilgal, the account of the altar on Ebal, and the summary of Joshua's conquests (iv. 21—v. 1, 4—8, viii. 30—35, x. 28—43, xi. 10—xii. 24). According to RD, Joshua and all Israel overthrow city after city in the course of a triumphal progress through the land, put the natives to the sword, and utterly destroy all that breathe; the instructions laid down in Deuteronomy are carried out to the letter by the faithful successor of Moses (e.g. i. 12 ff., iv. 12, viii. 30—35, x. 28—43, xi. 10—23, xiii. 2—6, 8—12, xxi. 43 ff., xxiii. 1—6). These Deuteronomic passages have the character of expansions rather than of extracts; there is no reason to suppose that RD ever composed an independent history of the times; he conceived it to be his function to annotate the older stories, and in his own fashion to drive the moral home.

As we go through the book we discover that several editors of the Deuteronomic school have been at work upon the text, for the annotations are sometimes inconsistent, and give expression to divergent views on the same subject, e.g. on the capture of Hebron and Debir, x. 36—39, xi. 21, xiv. 12 ff., and on the secret of Joshua's victories, x. 14, 42, xi. 20. We are to think, then, of the

Deuteronomic revision as the work of more than one hand; it was in fact a process which lasted for a considerable time, how long may be judged from the latest Dtc. addition, ch. xxiii., which shews that the author was acquainted with Deuteronomy much in its present form, complete with its introduction and appendices (Dt. i.—xi., xxxi., xxxiv.).

(*d*) We have arrived at the combination JERD: there remains the share contributed by P (5th cent. B.C.). It can be identified by its technical language and by the subjects chosen for treatment. P seems to have contained a history of the invasion and conquest (iv. 13, 15—19, v. 10—12, ix. 15 *c*, 17—21); but the extracts from this source are brief and fragmentary until the opportunity comes to describe the settlement of the land. Then P gives an elaborate survey of the possessions and boundaries of the tribes, on the assumption that the land was entirely conquered, xiii. 15—xix. 51. Yet P's survey has not been preserved intact, for in the case of Ephraim and Manasseh only a skeleton remains (see p. 153). The allotment takes place at the sanctuary of Shiloh, where the tent of meeting is duly erected; the cities of refuge and cities for the Levites and priests are set apart; and it is characteristic of P's reverence for the institutions of religion that *Eleazar the priest* appears as the leader of the nation, with Joshua in the second place (xiv. 1, xvii. 4, xix. 51, xxi. 1).

Besides the extracts from the Priestly history (P), we find a number of supplementary notes by Priestly revisers (RP) scattered throughout the book; in the older sources (e.g. iii. 4 *a*, vi. 23 *c*, 24 *b*, vii. 1, 18 *b*, 24 *a*, 25 *b*, x. 20 *b*, 27 *b*), in RD (e.g. vi. 19, x. 28, 30 ff.), and even in the narrative of P itself (e.g. xiii. 21, 22, 33, xv. 13, 45—47, xvi. 9, xvii. 1 *b*, 2, 5, 6, 8 etc.). Long after the Priestly Code was published the Priestly writers inserted one noteworthy addition, the story of the altar by the Jordan xxii. 9—34, which is probably the latest piece of extended composition in the Hexateuch. The text must have remained open to revisers and harmonists down to a comparatively late period, perhaps to c. 200 B.C. Sometimes the scribe would

make use of Dtc. language (e.g. xx. 3 *unawares*, xxii. 9—11 *the half tribe* (*shēbeṭ*) *of Manasseh*), more often of the Priestly formulae; in many cases, for want of a clue, his handiwork can only be marked as "editorial" or "a later expansion."

It is desirable to add a word of warning. The symbols J, E, D, P and RJE, RD, RP must not be taken to represent individual writers. In speaking of the sources we cannot altogether avoid personifying them; but schools rather than persons ought to be in our minds all the time. The symbols are meant to distinguish so many different types of composition. Each separate process was going on perhaps for several generations; in no case was it the product of a single author.

§ III. The History contained in the Book.

Some acquaintance with the sources is necessary before we can form an estimate of the historical character of the book, and of the actual history which it contains. Obviously, for strictly historical purposes, our primary authorities must be the early writings J and E; but these were composed long after the events recorded; behind the earliest written sources lay a period when the traditions existed only on the lips of the people, and passed through the inevitable vicissitudes of oral transmission. In the story of the fall of Jericho, for example, J and E represent the tradition at the second or third stage of its growth, not its simple, original form (see p. 41 f.). The later writings D and P are so absorbed in their own point of view that they cannot be used as authorities for the period; their value is indirect rather than direct. The interest of them must be found in the light which they cast upon the religious principles and aims of the time when they were written. Thus RD tells about Joshua, not as he really was, but as the writers of the 7th cent. pictured him; the portrait, if it can be called one, is not a study from the life, but the creation of a fervid believer and patriot. We may be sure that nothing like the wholesale slaughter of the natives and the irresistible

victories of the Israelites ever took place; the early traditions give a very different account of the matter; but some five hundred years after the invasion the Deuteronomic scribes expressed in this way their detestation of Canaanite enormities, and their conviction that Jehovah was utterly hostile to such abominations (see p. 104). We will not refuse our tribute to the zeal of these devout writers for whom the law and its precepts, the temple and its service, were the very breath of life. Their methods of writing history were not ours; they wanted the lessons of the past more than the facts; there were facts enough for their purpose in the stories and songs and local legends handed down by tradition, and these they did not scruple to heighten or enlarge in order to enforce what they valued more than bare facts, the tokens of Jehovah's power, the revelation of His will, the evidence that He was watching over Israel.

If, then, we go to the book of Joshua for authentic history we shall be disappointed; it has indeed preserved the memory of some vital episodes in Israel's career, but it treats them in what we should call a symbolical rather than a historical manner. The modern student, trained to the inductive method of investigating the past, finds it difficult, without an effort of imaginative sympathy, to appreciate the deductive methods of the biblical historians. We try to free our minds from prepossessions and to find out what actually happened; they, on the other hand, started from the opposite position; they had made up their minds already, and looked to the past for the confirmation of their principles. And we can recognize the element of truth in their philosophy of history[1]. If they discovered and laid

[1] Cf. St Augustine, *De doctr. Christ.*, Bk iii., ch. x. "Praeteritorum narratio est futurorum praenarratio, praesentium demonstratio." Dante sees Rahab in Paradise; the help that she gave towards Joshua's "prima gloria," the capture of Jericho, is a figure of "the high victory" won by the cross of Christ, *Par.* ix. 115—126. For a few illustrations from modern literature see Cowper, *The Task* vi.; Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the*

stress upon the religious significance of the crossing of the Jordan, the fall of Jericho, the battle of Beth-horon, the occupation of the Promised Land, they only did what poets and teachers have done ever since, and valued these events as imperishable symbols of encouragement, and of the ultimate triumph of the forces which make for righteousness.

The conditions of Canaan at the time. Something must be said about these if we would understand the situation which the invading Israelites had to face. In Joshua and elsewhere the natives of the land are sometimes called *Amorites* (e.g. v. 1, vii. 7), sometimes *Canaanites* (e.g. v. 1, vii. 9 *n.*); the names appear to be interchangeable, and the use of them determined only by the preference of the different writers. Yet a distinction was realized. The term *Amorites* is applied to the natives on both sides of the Jordan, on the East (ii. 10, ix. 10, xii. 2 ff., xiii. 10, 21) and on the West (x. 5, xxiv. 15, 18), whereas *Canaanites* is used only of the people inhabiting the western side. Again *the Canaanites* proper are the dwellers on the lowlands by the sea and in the Jordan valley (v. 1, xi. 3 *n.*), while *the Amorites* occupied the hill country (x. 5 f., xi. 3). Unconsciously this usage points to the state of things at the time of the Israelite invasion. Of the two races, the Amorites most likely were the first to settle in the land; they formed the ancient native population; afterwards they were partly subdued, partly driven into the hills, by the Canaanites, who belonged to a later wave of immigration from the N. or N.E.; the latter established themselves in the most productive parts of the country, and eventually gave their name to the whole of it, just as the Philistines invaded the S.W. coast in the 12th cent., and left behind them the name of Palestine. The Amorites belonged to the race of the *Amurru*, or *Western Semites*, who are frequently mentioned in early Babylonian and Egyptian documents; indeed "the

House i. 3, and *Victory in Defeat*; Tennyson, *Doubt and Prayer*; H. G. Wells, *First and Last Things*, p. 25.

further back we go, the more important and widespread we find the Amorite power to have been[1]." Before the time of Ḥammurabi (c. 2123—2081 B.C.), the best known king of the first Babylonian dynasty, an Amorite migration had swept across the desert from the E. Mediterranean coast as far as the Euphrates and Tigris, and had gained the upper hand of the Semites in Babylonia. Seven centuries later, in the period of the Amarna letters, c. 1400 B.C., the Amurru of the Lebanon and Phoenicia formed a kingdom of their own, nominally under the suzerainty of Egypt; its dynasty can be traced for five generations, and then fell before the growing power of the Hittites. In the Amarna letters we come upon the interesting fact that the names *Amurru* and *Kinaḫḫi*, *Kinaḫni* (Canaanites) are used very much as in the O.T., apparently of the same country; in letter 50, for example, the Pharaoh writes to Aziru the prince of Amurru, and alludes to his country as Kinaḫḫi. It has been thought that Amurru means the N. of the land and Kinaḫḫi the S., but the distinction cannot clearly be made out, and probably both terms referred to a wider territory, as in the O.T. When the Hebrews under Joshua reached the E. of the Jordan the bulk of the population was still Amorite; on the W. the Amorites clung to the centre of the land. By the time of the monarchy they had disappeared from history, and were remembered only as belonging to the legendary past, like the Anākim and Rephāim (Amos ii. 9 f., Dt. iii. 11 f.).

Beside these general names for the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine, there is a third which is once used in Joshua; the country is described as *all the land of the Hittites*, i. 4 RD. The designation is instructive because it preserves a recollection of the considerable non-Semitic element in the early population. How the Hittites came to be settled in Palestine has not yet been fully ascertained (see pp. 4, 5): probably they had over-run the country

[1] Böhl, *Kanaanäer u. Hebräer*, 1911, p. 52: this treatise contains a collection of the early material, and a valuable discussion of its historical bearings.

from N. Syria, and the stream of invasion had left deposits behind it, in the S. as far as Hebron and Edom, in the N. at the foot of Hermon (xi. 3 *n.*, Jud. i. 26).

We are to think, then, of the natives of Canaan as a congeries of many races, Semitic and non-Semitic: and Jewish tradition supports this view. The lists of nations (iii. 10 *n.*) include, beside the important peoples already mentioned, various minor tribes of whom little is known. The *Hivites* (Hebr. *Ḥiwwi*) were probably a branch of the Amorites, cf. Gen. xxxiv. 2 with xlviii. 22; the inhabitants of Gibeon are called Hivites in ix. 7, xi. 19, but Amorites in 2 Sam. xxi. 2. There must have been some connexion between the *Hivites* and the *Havvoth*-jair (xiii. 30), as both words come from the same root: originally perhaps these people were Amorite Bedouin, living in tents. The *Jebusites* were found in the hill country (xi. 3); but at the time of the early O.T. sources they were confined to Jerusalem (xv. 63 J = Jud. i. 21, xviii. 16, 28 P, Jud. xix. 10 f.), where they survived for a long time side by side with the Israelites. They were probably of mixed origin; the name of the king of Jerusalem, Adoni-zedek, is pure Semitic, and he is spoken of as an Amorite (x. 3, 5); while the name of Araunah (2 Sam. xxiv. 16 ff.) is certainly not Semitic, and may well be Hittite. The *Perizzites* are mentioned, outside the lists, beside the Rephāim xvii. 15, and in J as former inhabitants of the land beside the Canaanites (Gen. xiii. 7, xxxiv. 30, Jud. i. 4); the name is generally supposed to mean "country folk," "inhabitants of unwalled towns," but we cannot be sure that this explanation is correct. The *Girgashites* are not mentioned outside the lists, and nothing is known about them.

Far more ancient and vivid than anything we find in the O.T. is the picture of early Canaan given by the Amarna tablets. These were discovered in 1887 at Tell el-Amarna, a ruined site on the Nile, some 170 miles S. of Cairo. They consist of letters sent by Canaanite chiefs and officials to their over-lord the king of Egypt; and the remarkable thing about them is that they are written in the Babylonian

script and language, the latter, however, barbarously mixed with Canaanite forms and idioms. The letters are addressed to Amen-hotep III. (c. 1411—1375) and to Amen-hotep IV. (c. 1375—1360); so that they belong to a date perhaps two centuries earlier than the period usually assigned to the Israelite invasion. For our purpose some general conclusions may be drawn from this valuable discovery. (1) The use of the Babylonian writing and language as a medium of intercourse, not only between the Canaanite chiefs and Egypt, but between the Canaanite chiefs themselves (see p. 114), implies that superficially, at any rate, the civilization of Canaan in the 15th cent. B.C. was predominantly Babylonian; and the language no doubt carried with it the influence of Babylonian customary law, religious ideas and traditions. At the same time, as the excavations have shewn, commerce with Egypt was close, especially in the ornaments and furniture of domestic life.

(2) In the 15th cent. B.C. (and for long after) Canaan was subject to Egypt; the chief towns were held for the Pharaoh, and looked to him for help in their troubles. Many of the Amarna letters were written by the local princes to complain of one another, or to entreat the Pharaoh for support against the attacks of marauding bands from the eastern desert. It was not much that Egypt was able or willing to do: the suzerainty never amounted to any effective control. Two hundred years later, in the time of Ramses III. (c. 1198—1167), Canaan or Syria was still under Egyptian domination; the Pharaoh speaks of the tribute paid by the towns of Syria as a normal institution, and the wealthy Egyptian temples held property in the country[1]. Moreover, during the Amarna period, and the centuries which followed, Canaan was traversed again and again by Egyptian armies on their way to fight the rival empire of the Hittites. But not a hint of such a situation is to be found in the O.T.; probably because this state of affairs had dropped out of memory by the time that even the earliest parts of Joshua

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* iv., § 219; Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 276.

were written; perhaps also because the Egyptian overlordship had made no lasting impression upon the country. Still, it had to be reckoned with when the tribes attempted to seize positions in the land; their task cannot have been so easy, nor the conditions so simple, as the biblical records would lead us to imagine.

(3) We learn from the Amarna tablets that Canaan was divided up into a number of petty princedoms, each governed by a chief who occupied the principal fortified town. There was no such thing as a single, organized nation of Canaan; and though in emergencies the various chiefs would join forces, normally they were independent of one another, and often engaged in fighting among themselves. The book of Joshua bears witness to the same effect (e.g. v. 1, viii. 1, 2, ix. 1, 2, x. 1—5, xii. 7 ff.). This lack of cohesion among the native states gave an immense advantage to the invaders; indeed it goes far to account for the measure of success that attended their efforts.

(4) The tablets dispatched from Jerusalem (nos. 179—183) refer, in distressful terms, to the incursions of wild marauders into the lands and cities of the Pharaoh. These plundering Bedouin are called the *Ḥabiru*. Evidently they formed part of a general movement of desert tribes advancing from the East to seize the cultivated regions of the West. It is tempting to suppose that these *Ḥabiru* were connected in some way with the *'Ibrim* or Hebrews. Philologically the connexion is admissible; whether it can be maintained historically is far from certain. Some believe that there is nothing in the O.T. to prevent our dating the Israelite invasion shortly before the Amarna period[1]; others, however (see p. 42), are not prepared to give up the usual view that the exodus from Egypt and the occupation of Canaan took place some 200 years later; and this view seems to be the safer, at any rate for the present. But if the facts do not warrant us in identifying the *Habiru* with the Hebrews *as we know them*, the opinion is gaining ground that *'Ibrim* was originally a wider term

[1] So Böhl, p. 92.

than *Israelites*. In the O.T. itself the two are occasionally distinguished: thus in the genealogy Gen. x. 21, 24, 25 J Shem is the father of *all the children of Eber*, as though Eber were the ancestor of more than the Hebrew tribes as we generally think of them; again, in Num. xxiv. 24 Eber is placed in parallelism with Asshur, and distinguished from the people of Israel[1]. So there is a certain amount of evidence for the conjecture that the Ḥabiru were the same as the 'Ibrim *in the wider sense*: they swept into Canaan, as the tablets inform us, and settled there (cf. Gen. xiv. 13, xl. 15, xliii. 32 for the use of the name *Hebrew*); afterwards some families migrated to Egypt, whence the tribes known as the Israelites escaped under Moses, and under Joshua made their way into Canaan.

So far as the externals of civilization went the natives of the land had the superiority, walled and fortified towns, horses and chariots for fighting on the plains, the habit of settled life; but they were disunited and quarrelsome; and there was probably good ground for the tradition of their moral degeneracy. When it came to a struggle on anything like an equality they were no match for the Israelite tribes. Wherever they could the invaders attacked and seized the Canaanite cities by force; otherwise they had to fall back upon peaceful methods, and seek alliances, and settle down with the natives; both plans are illustrated in Joshua. It only needed time for the moral and physical superiority of the newcomers to gain the upper hand (xvi. 10, xvii. 13).

We can now turn to our book, and endeavour to find out the actual history that underlies the narratives.

(1) *The invasion from the South.* The first attempt to enter Canaan was made from the S. of the Negeb (p. 97), and in the time of Moses. The traditions which refer to this invasion, Num. xiv. 41—45, xxi. 1—3, Jud. i. 16 f. J, are so perplexing that any view of the circumstances must be largely conjectural. We are told that the Israelites did not succeed in their attempt to penetrate the Negeb, and

[1] ib. pp. 67 ff.

were driven to seek an entrance elsewhere. Yet the Kenites, and the related clan of the Kenizzites to which Caleb and Othniel belonged, an Arab race which had joined the Israelites in the desert, succeeded where the latter had failed. They made their way to Hormah, Arad, Zephath; Caleb and Othniel, i.e. families of the Kenizzites (p. 142 f.), captured Hebron and Debir, and established themselves firmly there. It must be admitted that this account of the matter is not borne out by Jud. i. 16 f., which makes the Kenites join the sons of Judah in a movement from the opposite direction, from N. to S.; but the tradition in Jud. i. 16 f. may have been influenced by the desire to give a general narrative of Judah's conquests, so that the advance of the Kenites to Arad and Hormah has been brought down to the time of Joshua and included in Judah's achievements. Some indeed think that Judah, as well as the Kenites and Kenizzites, entered Canaan from the S., and a good deal can be said for that opinion. But the tradition of a movement from the N. to S. is strongly embedded in the early sources; we may conclude, therefore, that it was the non-Israelite allies who entered Canaan from the S. We find them already settled in Hebron and its neighbourhood at the time of Joshua (xv. 14—19); when the Judahites arrived on their way down from the N. they would join hands with a friendly tribe of allies[1].

(2) *The invasion from the East; the crossing of the Jordan.* The book of Joshua opens with the tribes encamped at the N.E. end of the Dead Sea. Between them and the Promised Land flowed the Jordan in its deep bed; but this formidable barrier did not stop their progress; the river was crossed in the region of Jericho, where fords existed (ii. 7), as they do still. The narratives of the event (iii., iv.) emphasize the ceremonious order of the crossing and the miraculous drying up of the water; the two main sources differ in detail, and seem to have been coloured here and there by reminiscences of the Red Sea crossing (iii. 13, 16, 17); but these are not sufficient reasons for banishing the whole story to the realm

[1] See especially Kittel, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.*[2] i., pp. 573 ff.

of unhistorical legend. Some have thought that the tribes made their way over the river at intervals and one by one. But the tradition implies more than this: a memorable crossing, accompanied by some striking natural coincidence, such as probably took place when the tribes passed through the Red Sea. Whatever it was that happened, the people were convinced of Jehovah's help and presence at the moment when they entered Canaan.

(3) *The camp at Gilgal.* The first halting place on the W. of the Jordan, and for some time the headquarters of the people, is said to have been Gilgal, the exact site of which is not known. The name, and the events associated with the place, suggest the existence of a sanctuary on the spot. A general circumcision at Gilgal is described as following the passage of the Jordan (v. 2, 3, 9 J). The narrative has been freely elaborated, yet it may well contain an element of history. There is every reason to believe that circumcision was practised among the Israelites, as among the Canaanites, from immemorial times; but it may have fallen out of use in Egypt and during the wanderings; now it was generally revived.

Once across the Jordan, the tribes were face to face with the problem of the conquest. It is natural to suppose that they would come to an agreement as to the directions which their various enterprises should take. The question would be decided by means of the sacred lot, and this is implied by the language of Jud. i. 3, Josh. xvii. 14: the sanctuary of Gilgal was at hand, where the lots could be drawn before the Lord.

(4) *The capture of Jericho.* But before a start could be made in any direction, it was necessary to attack the fortified city of Jericho, which lay not far from Gilgal, and commanded the approaches into the western hill country. In recent years the massive walls of the city have been uncovered by excavation; towering above the plain, they must have seemed impregnable to invaders coming from the E. Yet this fortress was boldly stormed, a breach was made in the strong defences, and the city fell into the hands of the

Israelites. Such we may take to be the element of fact which underlies the picturesque narrative of ch. vi.; and it is worth noticing that the conclusion arrived at independently by historical criticism has been confirmed by the archaeological evidence: the walls did not fall down flat; there are no traces of an earthquake, nor of any widespread fire; but a breach was made in the S.E. corner of the great outer wall. Evidently the place was captured by assault.

(5) *The person of Joshua.* Up to the time when the tribes reached their station at Gilgal they had moved together, we may suppose, under a recognized leader. We need not doubt that the leader was Joshua. It is true that he does not appear in Jud i., probably because that chapter was intended to begin a new book dealing with the history after his death[1]: he is mentioned, however, in such early passages as x. 12 ff., xvii. 14—18. But when the tribes set out to win settlements in Canaan they no longer moved together under a single leader; this comes out clearly from the ancient fragments preserved in Jud. i. and Josh. The later historians have raised Joshua to the position of a commander-in-chief at the head of a united nation, such as had not yet grown into being. What happened was perhaps something like this. From Gilgal, and most likely after the capture of Jericho, the tribes separated into two main groups: Judah with the Simeonites advanced in a south-westerly direction towards the neighbourhood of Beth-lehem, avoiding the line of Canaanite strongholds which ran westwards from Jerusalem; while the house of Joseph, with the Ephraimite Joshua as their leader, pushed towards the N.W., until they were checked by another line of fortified towns running from Beth-shean on the E. to Dor on the coast.

(6) *The capture of Ai and Bethel* belongs to the Josephite

[1] For this reason the editor may have suppressed Joshua's name. Budde has suggested that the text of Jud. i. 22 originally read *and Joshua was with them*; cf. LXX. cod. A *and Judah was with them.*

campaign under Joshua. Ai comes into the history on account of the defeat which befell there, and the stratagem by which the city was taken in the end. The story of Achan's sin is brought into connexion with the disaster; but probably, as vii. 24, 26 implies, it was a local legend told to explain the ill-omened name of a valley leading up from Jericho. The narrative of Joseph's adventures has been much abbreviated, for nothing is said about the capture of Bethel, a place of importance in the near neighbourhood of Ai; the omission, however, is supplied by Jud. i. 22—26. The invasion of the Central Highlands, afterwards the home of the Josephites, i.e. Ephraim and Manasseh, is passed over in silence, which is the more noticeable because Joshua himself was an Ephraimite (xix. 49 f., xxiv. 30); but the compilers of the book were much more interested in Judah than in Joseph. In the last chapter Joshua and the Israelites are found in occupation of Shechem; how they came to be there we are not told. It is possible that in Central Canaan the invaders met with a certain number of their own race who had never migrated into Egypt, but had settled down on peaceful terms with the Canaanites; hence this district was gradually occupied by friendly alliances rather than by hard fighting[1].

(7) An example of alliance with the natives occurs in the story of *the treaty with the Gibeonites*, ch. ix. These people, according to the story, escaped by a trick the fate of the inhabitants of Jericho and Ai; when the trick was found out, they were only saved from vengeance by Joshua's proposal to condemn them to menial service as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God. If the temple and altar of Jerusalem are meant, the story cannot be earlier than the reign of Solomon; in Saul's time the Gibeonites certainly do not appear in the character of temple-slaves, they are independent, but on terms of alliance with Israel (2 Sam. xxi. 1—6). It has been suggested that the house of God referred to was the sanctuary at Gibeon (cf. 1 Kings iii. 4 f.), from which the Gibeonites

[1] Kittel l.c., pp. 553 *n.*, 600 f., 619.

might have been transferred when Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem: only on an assumption of this kind can the episode be retained in the age of Joshua. It is more probable that the story was told in later times to account for the long-standing independence of the Gibeonites in the very heart of the Israelite country, and for the presence of Gibeonite slaves in the temple at Jerusalem. But there is no need to question the fact of the treaty. Joshua found himself unable to capture Gibeon, a city even "greater than Ai" and famed for its "mighty men" (x. 2 J); he was compelled to enter into an alliance, and the Gibeonites thus secured their independence at least down to the time of Solomon (1 Kings ix. 20).

(8) The treaty with the Gibeonites is followed by *the battle of Beth-horon*. Ch. x. no doubt contains unhistorical elements. Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, if he was the same person as Adoni-bezek of Jud. i. 5—7, had already been defeated and put to death by the Judahites; but he may have been the successor and not the same person. How the king of Hebron could join the federation is difficult to see, for Hebron was in the possession of the Calebites. On the other hand, nothing is more probable than that the leading Canaanite chiefs in the S. and S.W. should have combined forces to resist Joshua and the tribes under him. The joint attack, however, is said to have been primarily aimed at Gibeon, and for the reason that the Gibeonites had gone over to the side of the invaders: this gives additional support to our conclusion that the treaty was a historical fact. The evidence for an important battle near Gibeon and a pursuit to Beth-horon is unusually strong (x. 10—14), however conflicting the details may be, especially in the narrative of the pursuit.

(9) We do not know what were the immediate results of Joshua's victory, for the passage x. 28—43 consists of generalizing statements by Rd. But we hear of *a second battle against a Canaanite federation*, this time *in the North*, near the waters of Merom (xi. 1, 4—9). A tradition which has every right to be considered historical may be recognized

under the rather vague description of *vv.* 4—9. Perhaps an early struggle between the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun and Jabin king of Hazor has been magnified into a campaign of Joshua and all Israel against the Canaanites of the North. There must have been more than one conflict of this kind. In the early days of the Judges a battle was fought between the northern tribes and the Canaanites under Sisera; a life-like record of it is preserved in the Song of Deborah (Jud. v.). The Song is introduced by a prose version (Jud. iv.), in which the tradition of this struggle with Jabin king of Hazor has been mixed up in a most confusing way (see p. 182); we seem to catch an echo in Jud. iv. of the battle at the waters of Merom in Josh. xi.

(10) At this point the history of the conquest comes to an end. The remaining chs., xiii.—xxiv., give an ideal picture of *the settlement and division of the land*, drawn mainly by RD and P. Much valuable information about the tribal boundaries and the sites of towns is contained in these chapters, but they reflect the conditions of a far later age, although the fragments of early sources which have been incorporated can, of course, be used for the reconstruction of the earlier history. The picture as a whole is dominated by the idea that Joshua acted as the leader of a united Israel and that the conquest of the land was complete; we have seen that both assumptions are contradicted by the older sources. Ch. xxiv. which is assigned to E (freely worked over) has a value of its own; but it is difficult to say how much historical fact lies behind the narrative of the covenant at Shechem. That Shechem had ancient associations with the observance of a religious covenant we learn from Jud. viii. 33, ix. 4, 27, 46; a somewhat similar rite is described in Josh. viii. 30—35. There was something in the associations of the place which suggested it as the fitting scene for a covenant ceremony. A time came, we may suppose, when the Israelites were strong enough to take over the sanctuary of Shechem, and adapt its associations to the purposes of their own religion.

§ IV. The Religion of Israel in the time of Joshua.

What has been said about the history contained in our book applies also to the religious element; we must go below the surface to discover the facts, so deeply is the narrative tinged with the beliefs and ideas of a later age. We recognize at once the principles of the Deuteronomic and Priestly schools; we learn much from these devout writers about the religion of their own time, but little about the religion of Israel five or six hundred years earlier. The Jehovist and Elohist sections do not carry us much further in this respect. The result is that, in spite of the thoroughly religious character of the book, we cannot use it directly as evidence for the religion of the period with which it deals; we have to depend on the aid of inference and conjecture. Naturally we think of the effect which Moses must have produced upon the generation which immediately followed him. But we have to argue back from later developments to find out what Moses believed and taught; no writing which can be assigned to his date has come down to us; we cannot be said to possess any of his words. Nevertheless certain religious facts seem to emerge from the obscurity of that remote age. (1) It was Moses who impressed upon his fellow-Israelites the belief that Jehovah (properly *Yahweh* or *Jahveh*) was their God. In the ancient Semitic world the god and the nation were inseparable; the one could not be imagined without the other; so that in proclaiming Jehovah as the God of the sons of Israel, Moses was insisting upon a religious fact which carried with it a principle of national unity. As yet there was no nation of Israel in the proper sense; but the common belief of the tribes that Jehovah was their God formed a bond which strengthened the sense of common interests, and in the course of time issued in the achievement of a national life. Probably Moses would not have denied the existence of the gods of other peoples; but for Israel there was only one God, to whom the tribes owed exclusive allegiance.

(2) We may believe that Moses inaugurated some kind of covenant between Jehovah and the tribes, which bound them to His service, and at the same time pledged them to mutual fellowship and common action. This may be the nucleus of fact enshrined in the lofty, prophetic narrative of Ex. xxiv. 1—11.

(3) What did the Israelites believe about the being and attributes of Jehovah? He was understood to reveal His presence in earthquake and thunderstorm; His dwelling-place was on Sinai, among the mountains of the desert; and yet He was no mere nature-god, like the gods of the Semitic world. We must be careful not to read back into the Mosaic age the spiritual teaching of the prophets; yet we have good reason to believe that Moses was in advance of his times, and held a high conception of the character of the God of Israel. Jehovah was no capricious Deity, incalculable in His moods, and the terror of His worshippers; but essentially a moral Being, who demands right dealing between man and man, and punishes wrong wherever it may be found; whose favour is won by sacrifices and offerings, but not by these alone and apart from righteous living. None of the codes as we have them in Ex. xxxiv. 10—27, xx. 1—17, xx. 22—xxiii. 19 can be dated so early as the time of Moses; but the tradition which connects him with the giving of the law may well be based upon the fact that he proclaimed the moral character of Jehovah, and laid down the main principles of the religion which Jehovah required. It is highly probable also that Moses instructed the people how Jehovah was to be worshipped; this would involve some regulations for a priesthood and sacrifices and the use of the sacred oracle; the moveable sanctuary of the ark seems to have been an inheritance from Moses. Lastly, we are told that he gave decisions on matters of dispute (Ex. xviii. 12—27 E); these, we may suppose, would be remembered for future guidance and gradually grew into a body of customary law.

That a foundation of this kind had been laid early in Israel's career is presupposed by the standards of religion

and morality which we find established in the 8th cent. B.C., when contemporary documents become available. The prophets of that century and onwards make their appeal to principles which were no novel inventions of their own, but universally admitted by their hearers. They point to an ideal of right and wrong which the people knew and had rejected (e.g. Amos v., vi., viii., Hos. iv.—vi., Is. i., v., xviii., Mic. ii., iii.); and it is significant that when they seek to revive the memory of the past, their thoughts go back to the exodus and the wanderings; it was the period of Jehovah's signal manifestation, of loving intercourse, of the hopefulness and promise of youth (Am. ii. 10, ix. 7, Hos. ii. 14 f., ix. 10, xi. 1, Jer. ii. 2 f., iii. 4, vii. etc.). The moral standards to which the prophets appeal had all along been part of Jehovah's religion; the people had not been true to the faith which they professed.

And there is this further consideration. If Jehovah had been regarded merely as any other Semitic deity, if the beliefs about His nature and attributes had not risen above the level which prevailed elsewhere, the religion of Israel would have gone the same way as the religions of Canaan, and led to nothing. The strongest proof of the distinctive character of Israel's faith is that it both survived and grew. We may have no sure evidence of what exactly Moses taught; but we may feel certain that a man of his commanding personality and genius for religion was raised up by God at the creative moment in Israel's career. Tradition is unanimous in placing his activity at a time which called for leadership and vision; looking back over the divinely ordered movement of the history, we recognize the insight of the writer who said, "there hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses" (Dt. xxxiv. 10). When the invasion of Canaan began certain fundamental principles of Jehovah's religion had been impressed upon the people; at that time they were undeveloped and hardly understood; but the good seed was sown; it grew, and in the course of ages ripened into fruit.

What happened when the tribes settled down in Canaan

belongs to the history of the Judges. Along with the far-reaching change from a nomad to an agricultural life, the bulk of the people accepted readily enough the religious habits and beliefs of the natives. The higher principles of the Mosaic faith had to struggle for existence, while the popular religion, about which the book of Joshua tells us little (see pp. 36, 37, 182, 221), became almost indistinguishable from that of the Canaanites. Yet there must always have been a certain number in Israel who cherished the higher faith, and, with the inbred virility of their race, abjured the degradations around them. They fought in the wars of Jehovah, and they were convinced that Jehovah fought for Israel (v. 13—15, x. 12 ff.); every victory was a fresh proof of the power and presence of their God. In spite of much disloyalty the higher faith did not sink to the popular level; it held its own through the ages of struggle and hardship and corruption which followed.

THE
BOOK OF JOSHUA

Part I. Chs. I.—XII. The Conquest of Canaan.

The first part of the book (i.—xii.) gives an account of Joshua's conquest of the land. The narrative is composite, and in its present form mainly adapted by the Dtc. editor; but in this division of the book the older sources are more fully represented than elsewhere.

(1) Thus J contributes a version of the story of the spies (ii.), of the crossing of Jordan (iii., iv.), of the circumcision at Gilgal (v. 2, 9), of the capture of Jericho (v. 13—15, vi.), of the stratagem by which Ai was taken (vii., viii.), of the league with the Gibeonites (ix.), and of the battle at Gibeon (x. 16—27); the same source gives a short account of the battle at the waters of Merom (xi. 1, 4—9). These narratives have been preserved in a more or less incomplete state; but they are fuller and more detailed than the fragments of the early history of the conquest preserved in Part II., which record merely tribal enterprises and only partial success (see on xiii. 13): here, however, the people act together under a common leader, and achieve important victories. It seems probable, therefore, that J itself was made up of an older strain consisting of brief tribal traditions, and of a series of longer stories, later perhaps in origin.

(2) Interwoven with J's version of these stories is another, difficult in many cases to unravel. The Elohist source begins the book with the divine summons to Joshua, bidding him take up the work of Moses (i. 1, 2); and then runs parallel with J in the narratives of the spies, the crossing, the capture of Jericho, the attack on Ai (viii. 12, 18, 24, 26), the Gibeonite treaty, the battle at Gibeon.

(3) These two sources must have been combined (JE) before Rd began the work of expansion. The general aim of the Dtc. redaction, which can easily be recognized by its phraseology and ideas, is to shew that Joshua, as the successor of Moses (i. 3—9), faithfully carried out the divine instructions laid down in Deut. Thus the new leader bids the eastern tribes fulfil their engagements (i. 12—18); he enlarges upon the significance of the stones at Gilgal (iv. 21—24), and circumcises the people there (v. 4—8), and in due course builds the altar on Ebal and reads the law

1 NOW it came to pass after the death of Moses the *E*
servant of the LORD, that the LORD spake unto

(viii. 30—35). The conquest of the land is described as a triumphal progress on the part of Joshua and all Israel, overthrowing city after city, and extirpating the native population (x. 28—43, xi. 10—xii. 24). The character of these Dtc. elements makes it clear that they were not extracts from an independent history of the conquest, but supplementary to the earlier work of JE.

(4) The hand of P does not figure so prominently in the first as in the second part of the book; but the evidence suggests that P once contained a history of the conquest, from which extracts have been occasionally worked into JED, though most of it has been discarded. Thus P seems to have related the crossing of Jordan (iv. 13, 15—17, 19), the celebration of the passover at the entry into Canaan (v. 10—12), the negotiations with the Gibeonites (ix. 15 *c*, 17—21). Other passages which reveal the idiom and interests of the Priestly school, e.g. iii. 4 *a*, vii. 1, 18 *b*, 24 *a*, 25 *b*, look like annotations by the Priestly revisers rather than extracts from the Priestly source.

A. Chs. I.—V. Introductory Narratives.

1. *Preparations for the crossing of the Jordan*, ch. i.

The death of Moses marks the close of one period of Israel's history; the succession of Joshua inaugurates the next. Jehovah confirms Joshua in the leadership to which he had already been dedicated, and charges him to undertake the conquest of the land of promise (*vv.* 1—9). Joshua tells the people to be ready to cross the Jordan in three days' time (*vv.* 10, 11), and reminds the two and a half tribes of their promise to help in the work of fighting (*vv.* 12—18).

This chapter, with the exception of *vv.* 1, 2 and 10, 11, comes from the Dtc. redactor, RD, as is shewn by the specific references to Deuteronomy, e.g. *vv.* 3 f., 5, 6, 13 ff., and by the prevailing style and thought. Here and there a later hand has expanded the narrative in the Dtc. manner, e.g. *vv.* 7, 8, 17 *b*, 18 *b*.

1. *after the death of Moses*] The history is thus continued from Dt. xxxiv. 5—8.

the servant of the LORD] A title frequently given to Moses in the Dtc. parts of this book (16 times in all); cf. Dt. xxxiv. 5, 1 K. viii. 53, 56, 2 K. xxi. 8 RD etc., also in Ex. xiv. 31, Num. xii. 7, 8 RJE or E. In ch. xxiv. 29 E and Jud. ii. 8 the title is transferred to Joshua; and other notable leaders receive it, such as Caleb, David, Hezekiah, Eliakim, Zerubbabel. The LXX. sometimes omits the words, as here, merely perhaps for reasons of style.

E Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying, Moses 2
my servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this
Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which
RD I do give to them, even to the children of Israel. | Every 3
place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, to you
have I given it, as I spake unto Moses. From the wilder- 4

Joshua the son of Nun] The Hebr. *Jehoshua'* means either *Jeho[vah] is salvation* (*yesha'*) or *Jeho[vah] is opulence* (*shu'a*), cf. Malchi-shua, Eli-shua; but that the second element in the compound came to be associated with the root *yasha'* = "he saved" is certain from Mt. i. 21, and from the later form of the name, *Jeshua'*: nominis futuri sacramentum, as Tertullian says. The Gk. equivalent is Ἰησοῦς, Jesus; cf. Heb. iv. 8 R.V. m. In Num. xiii. 8, 16, Dt. xxxii. 44 *Hoshea* seems to be a textual error for the usual form. *Nun* = *fish* in Hebrew, as in the cognate languages; a similar name is the Babyl. Nūnija, Nūna. Names of this type, denoting animals, were usually names of clans rather than of individuals. The LXX. always gives Ναυή, Old Latin *Nave*, in the first instance, no doubt, by mistake for Ναύν.

In the previous history Joshua first appears as already a tried warrior, who leads Israel's forces against Amalek, Ex. xvii. 9 ff. E. He is described elsewhere as Moses' *minister*, accompanying him on Mt Sinai Ex. xxiv. 13 E, and attending him in the sacred Tent *ib.* xxxiii. 11 E; cf. Num. xi. 28 E. The narrative of P makes Joshua one of the spies, Num. xiii. 16, xiv. 30, 38, but the older sources do not mention him in this connexion. As the characteristic term *Moses' minister* is used here, this and the verse following most likely belong to E, though they have been expanded by RD (e.g. *which I do give to them*), and by a later hand (*even to the children of I., v.* 2).

2. *arise, go over*] Cf. Gen. xxxi. 13 *b*, xxxv. 1 E; but the form of expression occurs also in D, e.g. Dt. ii. 13, 24.

go over this Jordan] *v.* 11. Again, an expression found in the old narrative Gen. xxxii. 10 [Hebr. 11] J, and in Dt. iii. 27, xxxi. 2.

even to...Israel] These words have the appearance of a later addition; they are omitted by the LXX. The commission given by Moses to Joshua according to Dt. iii. 28, xxxi. 7, 8, 14, 23 (cf. in P Num. xxvii. 18 ff.) is here renewed, and given by Jehovah.

3 f. *Every place...your border*] Repeated almost verbally from Dt. xi. 24; there the words are spoken by Moses, but with divine authority; here they are transferred to Jehovah Himself.

The ideal limits of Israel's territory are to extend *from the wilderness* in the South (Ex. xxiii. 31 E), i.e. the Edomite and Egyptian desert; *this Lebanon* must be understood to mark the eastern border, and *Lebanon* to stand for Antilebanon (so LXX.

ness, and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the *Rd*
river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto
the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be

here), the easternmost of the two Lebanon-ranges, east of which lay the territory of Damascus; the Euphrates defined the furthest limit to the N. (Ex. l.c.); and the Great Sea, i.e. the Mediterranean (cf. ix. 1, xv. 12, 47, xxiii. 4), the boundary on the W. Such was the ideal, cherished throughout the ages; see Gen. xv. 18 RJ, Ex. xxiii. 31, Zech. ix. 10, Ps. lxxii. 8; it was never realized in fact, though long after Solomon's day men liked to think that his kingdom reached as far (1 Kings iv. 21). The W. boundary, for instance, lay at some distance back from the coast, and none of the coast-towns were in Hebrew occupation until Simon the Maccabee captured Joppa towards the end of the second cent. B.C. (1 Macc. xiv. 5).

and this Lebanon] with a motion of the hand towards Lebanon; cf. *yonder Sinai* Jud. v. 5 (if the text be right). The words need not imply that the mountain was actually in sight (as *this Jordan* in *vv.* 2, 11); it is not visible from the N. of the Dead Sea where Joshua and Israel are supposed to be encamped (Shittim, ii. 1). But perhaps with small corrections we should read *and unto Lebanon, from the great river* etc.; so Dt. xi. 24 (corrected).

all the land of the Hittites] i.e. the whole of Palestine. The O.T. uses the term *Hittites* in three ways. (*a*) Here it is a general name for the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan, as in Ezek. xvi. 3, 45, Gen. xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1 P. We must suppose that after the Hittites ceased to exist as an independent power, owing to the conquest of Carchemish by Sargon in 717 B.C. (cf. Is. x. 9), they became known to the Jews only by tradition; the historical meaning of the name was forgotten, and P can even speak of the natives of Hebron as Hittites, Gen. xxiii. 3 ff., xxv. 10, xlix. 32; cf. ch. x. 5 *n.* Elsewhere (*b*) the Hittites appear in the lists of the nations whom Israel was to dispossess, iii. 10, ix. 1, xi. 3, xii. 8, xxiv. 11 in Rd or Dtc. expansions of JE. In these passages the reference cannot be to the great nation of the N., which was never conquered by the Israelites, but to Hittite colonies living in Canaan (Num. xiii. 29? E); or possibly to that particular settlement which is said to have occupied the district under Hermon, xi. 3, Jud. i. 26, or in Lebanon, Jud. iii. 3 (reading *Hittites* for *Hivites*). Further (*c*) the Hittites of the N. of Palestine are mentioned in 1 Kings x. 29, xi. 1, 2 K. vii. 6. This powerful non-Semitic race had been established for centuries before the time of Solomon at Kadesh in the upper valley of the Orontes; so that when the Amarna tablets, and the Assyrian records from the twelfth to the eighth cents. B.C., name *the land of the Hittites* (*mat Ḫatti*), they refer to what we should call Northern Syria: such is the *historical* meaning of the phrase which is used in the

R_D your border. There shall not any man be able to stand 5
before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses,
so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake
thee. Be strong and of a good courage: for thou shalt 6
cause this people to inherit the land which I sware unto
R_D* their fathers to give them. | Only be strong and very 7
courageous, to observe to do according to all the law,

present verse. And not only in N. Syria, but eastwards to Carchemish on the Euphrates, the Hittites had established themselves before the time of Thothmes III. (c. 1515 ff. B.C.), while towards the W. they penetrated Asia Minor almost to Smyrna. All these extensions started originally from Cappadocia, the proper home of the Hittites. The site of their chief city, called like themselves *Ḥatti*, near the village of Boghaz-keui in N. Cappadocia, has been explored in recent years, and has yielded a rich spoil of sculptures and inscriptions and tablets written in Babylonian. The name Hittite, it must be remembered, is a wide term, including the dominant race as well as a variety of other races absorbed by conquest; the sculptures shew a marked difference of racial type between the Cappadocian and the Syrian Hittites[1].

5, 6. These *vv.* are made up of Dtc. phrases: see Dt. vii. 24; Dt. iv. 9, vi. 2 etc., Josh. iv. 14; Dt. xxxi. 7, 8; *the land which I sware* etc., Josh. v. 6, xxi. 43 and 20 times in Deut.

The emphasis is laid on Jehovâh's help and promise in the great task to which Joshua is called; *v.* 9 carries on the thought. A similar assurance is given to the chosen instruments of God's purposes, to Jacob Gen. xxviii. 15, to Moses Ex. iii. 12, to Gideon Jud. vi. 12.

7, 8. Here the emphasis falls on obedience to *the law*, and the

[1] The earliest known allusion to the Hittites has been discovered by Dr L. W. King in a fragmentary Babylonian chronicle, c. 1800 B.C.; King, *Hist. of Bab.* (1915), pp. 210, 84. In Egyptian records the *Heta* first appear in the inscrr. of Thothmes III., c. 1515 B.C., and are frequently mentioned down to the time of Ramses III., c. 1198 ff. B.C. The treaty which Ramses II. concluded with Ḥeta-sira, i.e. the king of Ḥeta, in c. 1272 B.C. exists in Egyptian at Karnak; its Hittite-Babylonian version has been found lately at Boghaz-keui. See Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, pp. 319 ff.; Breasted, *Hist. of the Ancient Egyptians* (1908), pp. 233, 311, 441 f.; King, l.c. p. 236; Hogarth, *Enc. Brit.*, s.v. Hittites; Garstang, *Land of the Hittites* (1910). Possibly the Hittites of Hebron [and of Edom, Gen. xxvi. 34, xxxvi. 2], referred to by P under (*a*) above, belonged to a Palestinian tribe of Hittites mentioned in inscrr. of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon; Böhl, *Kanaanäer u. Hebräer* (1911), p. 27 f.

which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from *RD*
it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest [1]have
8 good success whithersoever thou goest. This book of the
law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt
meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe
to do according to all that is written therein: for then
thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt
9 [1]have good success. | Have not I commanded thee? Be *RD*
strong and of a good courage; be not affrighted, neither
be thou dismayed: for the LORD thy God is with thee
whithersoever thou goest. |
10 Then Joshua commanded the officers of the people, *E*
11 saying, Pass through the midst of the camp, and com-
mand the people, saying. Prepare you victuals; for within

[1] Or, *deal wisely*

provisions of *this book of the law*; this, and not Jehovah's companionship, is made the condition of Joshua's success in the future. Although *this book of the law*, i.e. the legislation embodied in Dt. xii.—xxvi., is mentioned several times in Deut. (e.g. xxviii. 58, 61, xxix. 21), nothing is said about Moses committing it to Joshua's special charge. Most likely, therefore, the two verses are a later expansion in the manner of the Dtc. school (*observe to do*, cf. Dt. v. 1, 32 and 18 times; *turn not...to the left*, cf. Dt. v. 32, xvii. 11, 20; *have good success*, cf. Dt. xxix. 9); *the law* is omitted by the LXX., and *from it* (mas.) does not agree with its antecedent *law* (fem.).

8. *thou shalt meditate therein day and night*] Taken up in Ps. i. 2, which gives expression to the later attitude towards the written law; cf. Ps. cxix. 15, 23, 78. With *make thy way prosperous* cf. again Ps. i. 3 and Dt. xxviii. 29.

9. This verse, which continues the thought of *v.* 6, is composed in the terms of D, especially Dt. xxxi. 6, 8; for the uncommon word *affrighted* cf. Dt. i. 29, vii. 21, xx. 3. *Jehovah thy God*, with the pron. in the sing. or plur., is specially characteristic of D; the writer borrows the standing formula from Dt. xxxi. 6, although it makes Jehovah speak of Himself in the 3rd person.

10. The divine command is to be announced to the camp by means of *the officers*, cf. Dt. i. 15, xx. 5—9. These *officers* (*shōtĕrîm*) are also mentioned by J Ex. v. 6, 10, 14 f., by E Num. xi. 16, by RD ch. viii. 33, xxiii. 2, xxiv. 1; see Driver, *Exodus* (C.B.), p. 36 *n*.

11. *Pass through the midst of the camp*] Similarly iii. 2 RD.

E three days ye are to pass over this Jordan, to go in to possess the land, which the LORD your God giveth you to possess it. |

RD And to the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the 12
half tribe of Manasseh, spake Joshua, saying, Remember 13
the word which Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, saying, The LORD your God giveth you rest, and will give you this land. Your wives, your little ones, 14
and your cattle, shall abide in the land which Moses gave you beyond Jordan; but ye shall pass over before your brethren armed, all the mighty men of valour, and shall

three days] Cf. ii. 16, 22, iii. 2, ix. 16. A preference for *three days* appears in E, as in Ex. xix. 11, where the same interval occurs before the giving of the law from Sinai: probably the Dtc. redactor is here using Elohistic material. The remainder of the verse is clearly Dtc.; every phrase in it betrays its origin; see Dt. xi. 31, i. 8, iii. 18 etc.

12. *the Reubenites...the Gadites...the half tribe of Manasseh*] are frequently mentioned together in this book, e.g. iv. 12, xii. 6, xiii. 7 f., xviii. 7, xxii. 1 ff., all RD; and see on xiii. 7, 29.

13. *Remember*] A frequent exhortation in Deut., e.g. vii. 18 and six times besides. Joshua reminds the two and a half tribes of Moses' stipulation with them, see Dt. iii. 18—20, and cf. Num. xxxii. 20—27 P (Gad and Reuben only). They were to leave their families and cattle behind in Gilead, while their warriors made common cause with the rest of the tribes in the conquest of W. Palestine. And they kept their word, iv. 12 f.

giveth you rest] Cf. *v.* 15, xxi. 44, xxii. 4, xxiii. 1 RD, Dt. iii. 20.

will give you this land] i.e. on the E. of Jordan. The land indeed had already been given, *v.* 14 *a* and Dt. iii. 18, and so the LXX. here renders *hath given*, against the grammar; but the peaceful occupation of the eastern territory lay still in the future, *v.* 15 *b*.

14. *Your wives, your little ones*] Cf. viii. 35, Dt. ii. 34, iii. 6, 19 (with *your cattle*) and three times besides.

Moses...beyond Jordan] But Joshua and the tribes are on the E. of Jordan The three words seem to be a later addition from Dt. iii. 20, where they are intelligible; the LXX. omits them here.

armed] or *in battle array*. The word (*ḥamūshīm*, of uncertain derivation) is specially used of the Israelite hosts at the period of the wandering (Ex. xiii. 18 E, Num. xxxii. 17 JE) and of the occupation (Josh. iv. 12 RD). The corresponding word in Deut. is *equipped* (*ḥalūṣīm*), e.g. Dt. iii. 18, also in P Num. xxxii. 30 etc., Josh. iv. 13.

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15 help them; until the LORD have given your brethren rest, *Rd*
as *he hath given* you, and they also have possessed the land
which the LORD your God giveth them: then ye shall
return unto the land of your possession, and possess it,
which Moses the servant of the LORD gave you beyond
16 Jordan toward the sunrising. And they answered
Joshua, saying, All that thou hast commanded us we
will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go.
17 According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so
will we hearken unto thee: only the LORD thy God be
18 with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that
shall rebel against thy commandment, and shall not
hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him,
he shall be put to death: only be strong and of a good
courage. |

15. Almost verbatim from Dt. iii. 20.

then ye shall return] See xxii. 4.

and possess it] The LXX. omits these words, which interfere with the structure of the sentence and are probably a later addition.

beyond Jordan toward the sunrising] Cf. xii. 1, xiii. 8 Rd; Dt. iv. 47, 49.

17. *only*] Cf. *vv.* 7 and 18 *b*; these sentences beginning with *only* appear to be expansions of the Dtc. language. Notice that 17 *b* interrupts the sequence of 17 *a* and 18 *a*.

be with thee, as] Cf. *v.* 5. The warriors quote the words of Deut.

18. *rebel against thy commandment*] A common Dtc. expression, e.g. Dt. i. 26, 43 etc. With the last sentence of the verse cf. *vv.* 6, 7, 9.

2. *The sending of the spies*, ch. ii.

Joshua sends two spies to explore the country west of Jordan, and in particular the situation of Jericho, a formidable town which barred the approach to the Central Highlands.

The greater part of the chapter comes from JE, viz. *vv.* 1—9 *a*, 12—23: the hand of Rd appears in *vv.* 9 *b*—11. In JE's narrative two parallel versions have been woven together, and though it is hardly possible to separate them throughout with certainty, yet the composite character of the story becomes evident here and there. Thus we find doublets in *v.* 3 (*that are come to thee* and *which are come into thine house*), in *vv.* 12, 13 (*my father's house* and *my father...and my sisters*, similarly in

J And Joshua the son of Nun sent out of Shittim two men 2
as spies secretly, saying, Go view the land, and Jericho.

v. 18), in *vv.* 21, 22 (*and they departed*). Most significant of all is the inconsistency between *vv.* 15, 16 and *vv.* 18—21; in the former passage the spies are let down from the window, and, we gather, make their escape; in *vv.* 18—21 they are still negotiating with Rahab, clearly within the house. With more or less probability we may assign *vv.* 1—5 in part, 6, 8—9 *a*, 12—14 in part, 18—21 to J, and *vv.* 1—5 in part, 7, 13 in part, 15 f., 22 f. to E. Harmonizing additions and explanations occur in *vv.* 12, 15, 17, 18, 24 (see notes).

1. *out of Shittim*] where the Israelites were encamped, cf. iii. 1 and Num. xxv. 1 JE; the name always has the article, and means *the acacia-trees*. The exact site is uncertain, but it must be looked for just N. of the Dead Sea, on the E. of Jordan. In Num. xxxiii. 49 P Shittim is mentioned as the last halting-place of the Israelites, and under what appears to be its fuller name, Abel-shittim. This suggests an identification with the Abila of Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, 1; v. 1, 1), who says that it was 60 stadia (7 m.) from the Jordan; hence a site at or near Tell el-Kefrēn has been proposed (Buhl, *Geogr.*, p. 265 *n.*, Guthe, *Bibelatlas*, map xiv.).

secretly, saying] According to the Hebr. accents, *saying secretly*.

Jericho] Possibly *fragrant* city (from *rawaḥ* = to breathe), on account of its balsam and rose trees, or *moon* city (from *yārēaḥ* = moon), supposing that moon-worship was its peculiar cult: both derivations are doubtful. The site is represented by Tell es-Sulṭān, a long oval mound, 700 ft. below the sea level, near the hills which lead up into Judah, and 5 m. west of the Jordan. Close to the mound on the E. springs the copious and beautiful 'Ain es-Sulṭān, or Elisha's Fountain as it is traditionally called (cf. xvi. 1 *the waters of Jericho*); 1½ m. to the S.E. lies the miserable village of Erīḥā, which preserves the name of the ancient city. The recent excavations at Tell es-Sulṭān by Prof. Sellin (1908—9) have revealed the fact that in the Canaanite period Jericho was a fortified place of unusual strength (see further on vi. 20); but notwithstanding its massive walls and citadel, it always fell an easy prey to attack in later days (G. A. Smith, *HGHL.*, p. 267 f.). The plain (iv. 13, v. 10 *the steppes of Jericho*) between the city and the Jordan was famous for a luxuriant vegetation (hence the name *city of palm trees* Jud. i. 16, iii. 2), due to the rich soil, abundance of water, and sub-tropical climate; "a most fortunate situation," described by Josephus in glowing terms (*War* iv. 8, 3). The Jericho of the N.T. lay to the S. of Tell es-Sulṭān, on the Wadi el-Ḳelt; that of the Crusaders occupied the site of the modern Erīḥā.

And they went, and came into the house of an *J*
2 harlot whose name was Rahab, and lay there. And it
was told the king of Jericho, saying, Behold, there came
men in hither to-night of the children of Israel to search
3 out the land. And the king of Jericho sent unto Rahab,
saying, Bring forth the men that are come to thee, | which *E*
are entered into thine house: | for they be come to search *J*
4 out all the land. | And the woman took the two men, *E*
and hid them; | and she said, Yea, the men came unto *J*

came into the house of a harlot...Rahab] The coming and going of strangers at such a house would attract little attention, and it would be easy to obtain information there without suspicion. Josephus turns *the house* into an inn and Rahab into an innkeeper (*Ant.* v. 1, 2), and similarly the mediaeval Jewish commentators, professing to base their interpretation upon the Targum; but the Targum uses a word which, while it suggests *innkeeper*, really means *harlot*. The Talmud follows the M.T.

For the help she gave to the spies, Rahab and her household were spared when the city fell and received into the Israelite community (vi. 25). Later ages extolled her faith (Heb. xi. 31), shewn by her acknowledgement of Jehovah and Israel's destined victory, and her good works (Jas. ii. 25) in hiding the spies: "she was saved by faith and hospitality" (Clement of Rome i. 12). On the assumption that she became the wife of Salmon (see *Ruth*, Cambr. Bible, p. 19), she obtained a place in the genealogy of David as the mother of Boaz, and so in the genealogy of our Lord (Mt. i. 5). Jewish legend had many edifying tales to tell of her; e.g. she was the ancestress of eight prophets who were also priests, Jeremiah among them (Talm. B. *Megillah* 14 *b*); as priests her descendants exercised the holiest privileges in Israel (Midrash R. on Num. v. 9, fol. 45 *a*).

2. *the king of Jericho*] The Amarna tablets (c. 1400 B.C.), which belong to the period probably before the Israelite invasion, reveal the same state of things as the book of Joshua (e.g. x. 1—3, xi. 1 f., xii. 7—24): the chief Canaanite cities are governed by petty kings. Jericho, however, is not mentioned in the tablets.

to search out] *v.* 3, only again in Dt. i. 22 with this sense.

3. *that are come to thee, which are* **come** *into thine house*] The second clause may be an explanatory addition (Dillmann); but, as elsewhere in this chapter, the doublet is probably due to the junction of two sources. If the first clause comes from J (cf. Gen. xix. 5 J), the second may be ascribed to E. In various ways the LXX. and Pesh. combine the two clauses into one.

4. *and* **concealed** *them*] A different word from that rendered *hid* in *v.* 6; in the Pent. only again in Ex. ii. 2, 3 E.

J me, but I wist not whence they were: and it came to 5
pass about the time of the shutting of the gate, when it
was dark, that the men went out: whither the men went
E I wot not: | pursue after them quickly; for ye shall over-
J take them. | But she had brought them up to the roof, 6
and hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid
E in order upon the roof. | And the men pursued after them 7
the way to Jordan unto the fords: and as soon as they
which pursued after them were gone out, they shut the
J gate. | And before they were laid down, she came up 8
unto them upon the roof; and she said unto the men, 9

Yea, the men came] The Hebr. word (*kēn*) rendered *Yea* is never used elsewhere in this sense. Following a hint from the LXX. we should perhaps read *lākēn* = *therefore*, which is idiomatically used in conversations to preface the reply (e.g. Jud. xi. 8, 1 S. xxviii. 2 etc.): *True, the men did come to me, but....* This suggestion is due to Mr Holmes, *Joshua*, p. 19.

5. *and it came to pass* etc.] More exactly *and the gate was about to close at dark and the men went out*, i.e. *when the gate...the men went out*; for the idiom cf. Gen. xv. 12 *and the sun was about to set*. The city gate is not closed till *v.* 7.

whither...I wot not: pursue after them] Rahab declares that she does not know whither the men are gone, and yet that they will be caught if the king's envoys follow them. The inconsistency, if it is to be pressed, may be due to the mixture of sources, the last half of the verse, which agrees with *vv.* 7, 16, 22 (note *pursue, pursuers*), coming from E, and the first half from J.

6. The flat roof of an eastern house is regularly used for drying produce of the fields and olive-gardens. *Flax in the stalk* (LXX. λινοκαλάμη), as distinct from flax that has been beaten, would serve admirably for a covering; in the East it grows to a height of 2 to 3 ft. It was now harvest time, as iii. 15 also shews. When the women of the Old Testament appear in the narrative it is generally on account of their courage and resource: with the present narrative cf. especially Jud. iv. 18 ff., 2 Sam. xvii. 19, 20.

hid them] See on *v.* 4.

7. *And the men pursued*] Continuing *v.* 5 *b* (E).

unto the fords] Several fords across this part of the Jordan were used in ancient times; cf. Jud. iii. 28, 2 Sam. xix. 15. The large map of the Pal. Expl. Fund marks five fords within easy reach of Jericho, the most northerly at el-Mandesi, N. of Wadi Nimrīn, the southernmost, about 8 m. lower down, at el-Ḥenu.

8. *before they were laid down*] Cf. Gen. xix. 4 J.

I know that the LORD hath given you the land, and that *J*
your terror is fallen upon us, | and that all the inhabitants *RD**
10 of the land melt away before you. | For we have heard *RD*
how the LORD dried up the water of the Red Sea before
you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto
the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan,
11 unto Sihon and to Og, whom ye utterly destroyed. And
as soon as we had heard it, our hearts did melt, neither
did there remain any more spirit in any man, because of
you: for the LORD your God, he is God in heaven above,

9. *the LORD hath given you the land*] Rahab expresses her confidence, implied by the use of the perf. tense, in order to plead for clemency, *v.* 12. The intervening words, *vv.* 9 *b*—11, which describe the panic in Canaan due to Jehovah's mighty acts on behalf of Israel, have been inserted by RD to enforce the moral of the story: thus *v.* 9 *b* is based upon Ex. xv. 16, 15; with *v.* 10 *a* cf. iv. 23, v. 1, ix. 9 *b*, 10 RD; with *v.* 10 *b* cf. Dt. ii. and iii.; with *v.* 11 *a* cf. Dt. i. 28; with *v.* 11 *b* cf. Dt. iv. 39.

Each nation had its own deity, recognized by its neighbours; the Canaanite Rahab says no more than the Aramaean Laban in Gen. xxiv. 31, xxxi. 49, and the Philistines in *ib.* xxvi. 28. But in later times this acknowledgement of Jehovah and confidence in Israel's triumph were regarded as a proof of Rahab's faith; see on *v.* 1.

and that all the inhabitants **faint** *before you*] The Greek translators omit this sentence, probably because it was not found in the Hebr. text that lay before them. We may infer that the words are an expansion introduced later than RD, and perhaps taken from *v.* 24, where the LXX. do translate them.

10. The language is strongly marked by the Dtc. style; see the references given on *v.* 9. And with *how* cf. Dt. ix. 7; *when ye came out of E.* cf. Dt. xxiii. 4, xxiv. 9, xxv. 17; *what ye did unto* cf. Dt. vii. 18; *the two kings of the Amorites* cf. ix. 10 RD, xxiv. 12, Dt. iii. 8, iv. 47 (note that in Dt. iii. 1—7 only Sihon is called *king of the A.*: *the two kings of the A.* belongs to the later strata of D); *that were beyond Jordan* cf. the last references, except xxiv. 12; *whom ye utterly destroyed* cf. x. 28, 35, 37, 39 f., xi. 11 f., 20 f. RD, Dt. ii. 34 and four times besides, and in the earlier sources Josh. vi. 21, x. 1, Num. xxi. 2, 3 J and Josh viii. 26, Ex. xxii. 20 [19] E.

11. *our hearts did melt*] Cf. v. 1, vii. 5, xiv. 8 RD; Dt. i. 28.

the LORD your God, he is God...beneath] A remarkable recognition of the supreme Godhead of Jehovah, borrowed from Dt. iv. 39, but without the significant additions "he is *the* [i.e. the true] God...*there is none else*." Even the Dtc. redactor cannot

J and on earth beneath. | Now therefore, I pray you, 12
swear unto me by the LORD, since I have dealt kindly
with you, that ye also will deal kindly with my father's
E house, and give me a true token: | and that ye will save 13
alive my father, and my mother, and my brethren, and
J my sisters, and all that they have, | and will deliver our
lives from death. And the men said unto her, Our life 14
[1]for yours, if ye utter not this our business; and it shall
be, when the LORD giveth us the land, that we will deal
E kindly and truly with thee. | Then she let them down by 15
* a cord through the window: | for her house was upon the

[1] Heb. *instead of you to die.*

put into Rahab's mouth a profession of belief in the sole Godhead of Jehovah.

12. *Now therefore*] continues *v.* 9 *a*, and the characteristic style of JE returns: thus *deal kindly with* occurs four times again in J (Gen. xix. 19, xxiv. 12, 14, Jud. i. 24), three times in E (Gen. xx. 13, xxi. 23, xl. 14), twice in RJE (Ex. xx. 6, Dt. v. 10).

swear unto me by the LORD] the God of one of the parties, and as such recognized by the other. Similarly, when the situation is reversed, a Jewess would swear by an Egyptian deity, e.g. Mibtaḥyah by Sati, the Egyptian goddess of Elephantinē (*Aramaic Papyri from Elephantinē*, F. 5 f.).

and give me a true token] Not in the LXX. The words may have been inserted to prepare the way for the giving of the token in *v.* 18.

13. At this point the two versions make their appearance: *my father's house* (*v.* 12)...*and will deliver our souls from death*, belonging to J, runs parallel to *ye will save alive my father, and my mother, and my brethren, and my sisters* (again in *v.* 18) from E.

14. *Our life for yours*] An expressive form of oath: "we pledge you our life to it that, when Jehovah giveth us the land (LXX. *the city*, and in *v.* 18), we will deal kindly and truly with thee." As the text stands this promise is made under a condition, *if ye utter not this our business*, which, however, is omitted by the LXX., and seems to be a later addition based upon *v.* 20. In the latter position the clause suits the context better than it does here, and it is given in the Gk. version. Cf. on *v.* 9.

we will deal kindly and truly with thee] The idiom again in Gen. xxiv. 49, xlvii. 29 J. Cf. the episode in Jud. i. 24 f.

15. *by a cord*] Better **by a rope**, to avoid all risk of confusion with *the scarlet line* or *string* in *vv.* 18, 21. David made his escape in the same way 1 Sam. xix. 12, and St Paul, Acts ix. 25, 2 Cor. xi. 33 *through a small door through the town wall* of Damascus.

16 town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall. | And she said *E*
unto them, Get you to the mountain, lest the pursuers
light upon you; and hide yourselves there three days,
until the pursuers be returned: and afterward may ye
17 go your way. | And the men said unto her, We will be *
guiltless of this thine oath which thou hast made us to
18 swear. | Behold, when we come into the land, thou shalt *J*

Apart from the statement in the latter half of this verse, the narrative obviously implies that Rahab's house was built upon the wall, and that when the spies were lowered they found themselves clear of the city. But it is doubtful whether 15 *b* formed part of the original text. The two clauses *for her house was upon the wall of the* (*city*) *wall, and she dwelt upon the* (*city*) *wall*, both saying the same thing, look like two variants introduced, one after the other, to describe the situation more exactly. Moreover both are omitted by the LXX. Was the omission made deliberately, as some think, to prevent the conclusion that Rahab's house must have fallen when the walls of the city fell (vi. 20)? This is to credit the Gk. translators with more subtlety and sensitiveness to inconsistencies than they display elsewhere. The alternative is to suppose that they did not find these words in the Hebr. text before them. This involves the further supposition that editorial handling of the Hebr. text was going on continually after the time of the LXX.; and in the present case that the original was twice expanded; but similar expansions at a late period can be detected rather frequently in Joshua. The evidence of the Vulgate here, which gives only one of the two clauses (domus enim ejus haerebat muro), seems to suggest that even in Jerome's time the full Hebr. text, as we have it, was not found in all copies.

What happened to Rahab's house when *the wall* of Jericho *fell down flat* we are not expressly told; vi. 22 implies that it was left standing.

16. *Get you to the mountain*] on the W. of the city; the pursuers had taken an easterly direction. The great crag of Jebel Karantal was close at hand; the fugitives might easily creep through the cane-jungle to the shelter of one of the innumerable caves in the face of its precipices (Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 201).

17. *We will be guiltless...to swear*] An editorial attempt to link up *v.* 18 with *v.* 14, after the connexion had been interrupted by *vv.* 15 and 16 from E. The secondary character of this sentence is shewn by the careless grammar of the Hebrew and by the use made of *v.* 20, where the words are in place. The LXX. omits them here and in *v.* 20.

18. *Behold, when we come into the land*] The spies have been

J bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou
didst let us down by: and thou shalt gather unto thee
E into the house | thy father, and thy mother, and thy
J brethren, and | all thy father's household. And it shall 19
be, that whosoever shall go out of the doors of thy house
into the street, his blood shall be upon his head, and we
will be guiltless: and whosoever shall be with thee in the
house, his blood shall be on our head, if any hand be upon
him. But if thou utter this our business, then we will be 20
guiltless of thine oath which thou hast made us to swear.
And she said, According unto your words, so be it. And 21
she sent them away, and they departed: and she bound

let down and urged to fly. Can we suppose that they shouted this conversation from the ground to Rahab at the window before they started for the mountain; or that the narrator goes back to the moment before the spies made their escape? It is much more likely that *vv.* 18—21 are not a continuation of *vv.* 15, 16, but an extract from the parallel version, continuing *v.* 14; and as *vv.* 15, 16 come from E, *vv.* 18—21 may be assigned to J.

For *into the land* the LXX. have *into the outskirts of the city*; cf. on *v.* 14, and for the word which is rendered *outskirts* see iii. 15, xv. 2, 5, 8, 1 Sam. ix. 27: this is more expressive than the M.T. The LXX. reading conjures up a fight in the environs; Rahab and the inmates of her house are to be kept in safety.

this line of scarlet **string**] Cf. *v.* 21. Perhaps the Israelite was wearing it to carry his seal or amulet (cf. Gen. xxxviii. 18); he takes it off his neck and gives it to Rahab, who is to hang it out when the time comes. This *string* must not be confused with the *rope* in *v.* 15 E, which would not be dyed scarlet; though the two seem to be identified in the text, for the words *by which thou didst let us down* refer to the *string* and not to *the window*, as the preposition shews (contrast *through* in *v.* 15): *by which...down* must be a gloss.

thy father...brethren] As in *v.* 13. *and all thy father's household*, as in *v.* 12. The two clauses are parallel.

19. *his blood shall be upon his head*] i.e. he will have himself to blame if he is killed; as after the deliberate breach of an agreement 1 K. ii. 37, or of the moral law Lev. xx. 16 ff., 2 Sam. i. 16, 1 K. ii. 32 f.

guiltless] *v.* 20. The same word in a similar context Gen. xxiv. 41 J *be clear from my oath.*

20. *thine oath which thou hast made us to swear*] LXX. *this thine oath* (as in *v.* 17), harmonizing better with *this our business.*

21. The LXX. omits *and they departed* and the rest of the verse.

22 the scarlet line in the window. | And they went, and *E*
came unto the mountain, and abode there three days,
until the pursuers were returned: and the pursuers
sought them throughout all the way, but found them not.
23 Then the two men returned, and descended from the
mountain, and passed over, and came to Joshua the
son of Nun; and they told him all that had befallen
24 them. And they said unto Joshua, Truly the LORD hath
delivered into our hands all the land; | and moreover *RD*
all the inhabitants of the land do melt away before us.

The agreement in *v.* 18 was that *the line of scarlet string* should be fastened to the window when the Israelites came *into the land*, or *into the outskirts of the city* (LXX.); there would be no purpose in exhibiting it before. The last half of the verse probably did not exist in the copy which the LXX. were translating: the alternative is to suppose that they felt the inconsistency with *v.* 18, and left the words out.

22. *And they* **departed**] The same word as in *v.* 21, but not from the same hand. In the present verse we have a fragment of E's narrative continuing *v.* 16, recording the *three days* of hiding and the failure of the *pursuers*.

24. *the* LORD *hath delivered into our hands*] So xxi. 44, xxiv. 8, 11, Ex. xxiii. 31. *Truly* should be omitted; the Hebr. particle merely introduces the oratio directa, like the Gk. ὅτι.

do **faint**] See on *v.* 9 *b*. Perhaps this last half of the verse is an addition like *vv.* 9 *b*—11; note *and moreover* at the beginning of a gloss in vii. 11, xxii. 7.

3. *The crossing of the Jordan,* chs. iii.—iv.

Immediately after the return of the spies Joshua and the people proceed to cross the Jordan, and pitch their camp on the western side. Jehovah, who had led the tribes across the Red Sea, now leads them across the river which formed the boundary of the Promised Land. On both occasions the God of Israel gave a signal proof of His care and power; the beginning and the end of Israel's long journey were attended by marvels; and the grateful memory of later generations celebrated them both together (iv. 23 RD, Ps. cxiv. 3, 5).

Though the general sense of the narrative is clear, the details cause much perplexity owing to the fusion of parallel accounts, and to the interpretations and adjustments of editorial handling. Thus in iii. 16, 17, iv. 1 *a* the people have *clean passed over Jordan*;

JE And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and they 3

but iv. 4—7 makes it equally clear that they have not yet started, and *they do not pass over till* iv. 10*b*; we arrive at the point which had been reached before in iii. 17. We find, then, a double account of the crossing.

Again, there is much confusion about the memorial stones in ch. iv. According to iv. 1—3 the twelve men are told to take twelve stones out of the river bed, carry them across, and set them up in the lodging place on the western bank; *v.* 8 records that this was done. A similar command is given in *vv.* 4—7, but in rather different words: the twelve men are told to shoulder the stones (obviously, to carry them to the other side, though the text does not say so), in order that this may be a sign to later ages; *v.* 20, which seems to belong to *vv.* 4—7, mentions the erection of the stones at Gilgal. But with these two parallel accounts of the memorial *on the western bank* is combined a third, which gives a different story: according to *v.* 9 Joshua sets up twelve stones *in the river bed*, in the place where the priests stood with the ark. A further doublet may be pointed out: the significance of the memorial is explained twice over, in iv. 6, 7 and in iv. 21—24.

These two chs., therefore, betray their composite origin, but opinions differ widely as to the manner in which they are to be analysed in detail. We can detect at once the contributions of RD in iii. 7, iv. 12, 14, 21—24, v. 1, and those of P in iv. 13, 15—17, 19; and no doubt affinities with D and P can be traced elsewhere. It is the remainder which baffles any sure analysis. At least two documents are concerned in the narrative, as we have seen, and we naturally think of J and E; but the marks of their characteristic style are so indecisive that Driver prefers to use the neutral designations *a* and *b*. Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose that here, as in other parts of the book, RD constructed the narrative on the basis of JE. The distinction between J and E must remain to a great extent conjectural; only fragments of each have been preserved, and these have received additions and explanations at the hand of RD and later editors. Leaving out minutiae, some of which will be noticed in the commentary, the following may be proposed as a working hypothesis of the structure of these chapters:

JE iii. 1, 5, 10*a*, 11, 12 (E), 13—17, iv. 1—3, 4—5 (E), 6—7 (? J), 8 (J), 10*b*—11 (E), 18, 20.

RD iii. 2—4, 6—9, 10*b*, iv. 9, 10*a*, 12, 14, 21—24, v. 1.

P iv. 13, 15—17, 19.

1. *And Joshua rose up early in the morning*] So frequently in this book, e.g. vi. 12, [15], vii. 16, viii. 10 JE. Probably *the morning* after the spies' return is meant, thus connecting the advance with ii. 23.

removed from Shittim, and came to Jordan, he and *JE*
all the children of Israel; and they lodged there before
2 they passed over. | And it came to pass after three days, *RD*
that the officers went through the midst of the camp;
3 and they commanded the people, saying, When ye see
the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, and the

from Shittim] The march, though not long, would have occupied a day; see on ii. 1.

he and all the children of Israel] LXX. om.; the phrase, which occurs again only in Num. xxvii. 21 P, may be a later addition.

2. *after three days*] Referring probably to i. 11, where Joshua announces that the crossing will take place in three days. Immediately after this announcement, we may suppose, the spies were dispatched, had their interview with Rahab, and waited three days in hiding. Thus the interval mentioned in i. 11 and iii. 2 is taken to correspond with that in ii. 16, 22. But the day spent in moving from Shittim to the Jordan (*v.* 1) is ignored, and the narrative itself requires more than three days for the mission of the spies. The precision of the chronology lies only on the surface.

the officers] See on i. 10 f.

3. *the ark of the covenant of* **Jehovah** *your God*] The titles of the ark in this and the following ch. illustrate clearly the history of religious ideas on the subject. (*a*) In the older writings we find simply *the ark*, e.g. Num. x. 35 J, and this occurs in ch. iii. 15, iv. 10, vi. 4, 9, 1 Sam. vi. 13 etc.; or *the ark of Jehovah* (or *of Elohim*) ch. iii. 13, iv. 5, 11, vi. 6 f., 11 ff., vii. 6 etc., 1 S. iv., vi. *passim*, 1 Chr. xiii. etc. The latter description implies that the ark contained an object which symbolized Jehovah or Elohim. (*b*) By the Deuteronomist this object was identified with the two tables of stone inscribed with the decalogue (Dt. iv. 13, x. 1 ff.), or summary of the moral *law*, which constituted the terms of the *covenant* between Jehovah and Israel; in this connexion the word *covenant* (*b'rîth*) has almost the sense of *law*. Hence D, and the writers of the Dtc. school, made an addition to the earlier title: *the ark* becomes *the ark of the covenant* ch. iii. 6, 8, 14, iv. 9, vi. 6, which means *the ark with the law* (in it), *the ark wherein is the b'rîth*, see 1 K. viii. 21 (= 2 Chr. vi 11); and *the ark of Jehovah* becomes *the ark of the covenant of Jehovah* Dt. x. 8, xxxi. 9, 25 f., Josh. iii. 3, viii. 33, 1 S. iv. 3 ff., 1 K. iii. 15 etc., Jer. iii. 16, and often in Chron. There can be no doubt that, in many places where the latter phrase now stands, the text originally read *the ark of Jehovah*, and that *the covenant of* has been inserted by the Dtc. editors, e.g. Num. x. 33, xiv. 44 J, Josh. iv. 7, 18, vi. 8, sometimes without troubling to make the grammar correct, as in ch. iii. 14, 17; and the evidence of the LXX. frequently supports

RD priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove from your place, and go after it. Yet there shall be a 4
space between you and it, about two thousand cubits by measure: come not near unto it, that ye may know the way by which ye must go; for ye have not passed this

this conclusion. Here and there the older title has been further modified to avoid all risk of a materialistic interpretation (see Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 301): thus in ch. iii. 11, 13 we have *the ark of [the covenant of] Jehovah, the Lord of all the earth*. Now this Dtc. addition of the word *covenant* carries with it a noteworthy significance: the covenant consists of the Ten Commandments; that is to say, Israel is united to Jehovah, not as a matter of course, nor by any natural affinity such as was supposed to unite other nations with their gods, but by the observance of the moral *law*. This was the great principle which in various ways the prophets brought to the front and emphasized. (*c*) In the Priestly Code a still further change takes place: the favourite title becomes *the ark of the testimony*, i.e. the ark containing the solemn divine *ordinance*, in P twelve times and Josh. iv. 16; instead of the Dtc. *tables of the covenant* (Dt. ix. 11, 15), P prefers to speak of the *tables of the ordinance* (Ex. xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29).

the priests the Levites bearing it] In Dt. x. 8 the first of the three priestly duties of the tribe of Levi is to bear the ark, cf. Dt. xxxi. 9; and in writings earlier than D this was the function of the priests, Josh. iii. 13, 17, iv. 18, vi. 6, 12 (all JE), 1 K. viii. 3, 6. Further, the designation of the priests in this verse is characteristic of D, which regularly speaks of *the priests the Levites*, i.e. the priests of the tribe of Levi, the Levitical priests, implying that all Levites had the right of exercising the priesthood: Dt. xvii. 9, 18, xviii. 1 etc., Josh. viii. 33 RD, Jer. xxxiii. 18; and see Ezek. xliv. 10 -15. In P, however, the duty of carrying the ark is assigned to a particular family of Levites, the Kohathites, Num. iii. 31, iv. 15, and similarly 1 Chr. xv. 2, 15, 26 etc.; and the priesthood, so far from belonging to all Levites as such, is strictly confined to the descendants of Aaron. It will be observed that nothing is said about the tabernacle in the present narrative.

4. *a space...about two thousand cubits...come not near unto it*] The dread of close contact with the ark is more in the spirit of P (e.g. Num. i. 51 *c*, iv. 18 ff.) than of D In the passage of the Jordan, as in the march round Jericho (vi. 9 ff.), the ark must have come near the people. These words may be an insertion by a priestly editor; with *two thousand cubits* cf. Num. xxxv. 5 P and Acts i. 12 (a sabbath day's journey was fixed by the Rabbis at this limit). The rest of the verse is thoroughly Dtc. in style.

way heretofore. | And Joshua said unto the people, *JE*
Sanctify yourselves: for to-morrow the LORD will do
wonders among you. | And Joshua spake unto the priests, *RD*
saying, Take up the ark of the covenant, and pass over
before the people. And they took up the ark of the
covenant, and went before the people. And the LORD
said unto Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee
in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I
was with Moses, so I will be with thee. And thou shalt
command the priests that bear the ark of the covenant,
saying, When ye are come to the brink of the waters of
Jordan, ye shall stand still in Jordan.

5. *Sanctify yourselves*] by inward and outward purification, such as is described in Gen. xxxv. 2, Ex. xix. 10, 14 (in preparation for the law-giving at Sinai). This act of self-consecration is required by the approach of Jehovah, about to manifest Himself in *wonders*. For the language cf. Ex. xix. 22, Num. xi. 18, Josh. vii. 13 (all J); this verse comes from J.

6. *pass over before the people*] Continuing RD in *vv.* 2—4. The start is to be made from the point fixed by *v.* 1, the eastern bank of the Jordan. The priests with the ark are told to cross the river at the head of the procession; they take up their position as directed, and advance towards the bank. But before the actual passage begins, Joshua receives a stirring promise, while the priests are told to halt at the water's edge, *vv.* 6, 7, 8. It seems that RD here, as in *v.* 8, is expanding the narrative of JE; for *pass over before the people* gives the same representation as *v.* 14 *b the priests...being before the people.*

7. A characteristically Dtc. verse: *this day will I begin to magnify thee* cf. Dt. ii. 25 and ch. iv. 14 RD; *all Israel* cf. *v.* 17, iv. 14 and fifteen times in Josh., thirteen in Deut.; *so that* (the relative used as a conjunction) cf. Dt. iv. 10, 40, vi. 3 etc.; *as I was with Moses* cf. i. 5 *n.* The marvel about to happen will convince Israel of Joshua's divine mission.

8. *And thou shalt command*] The exact words only again in Ex. xxvii. 20 P; hence Carpenter-Harford assign the verse to P, although, with this exception, there is no decisive reason for doing so. Taking *v.* 8 as a continuation of RD's narrative in *vv.* 6, 7, we obtain a tolerable sense: the procession is to start, and the priests are to stand in the water near the edge, while Joshua addresses further instructions to the people. As in *v.* 6, RD seems to be expanding JE, for *the brink of the waters* connects this verse with *v.* 15. The account of the crossing itself is taken from other sources, JE.

RD And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, Come 9
JE hither, and hear the words of the LORD your God. | And 10
Joshua said, Hereby ye shall know that the living God
RD is among you, | and that he will without fail drive out
from before you the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the
Hivite, and the Perizzite, and the Girgashite, and the
JE Amorite, and the Jebusite. | Behold, the ark of the 11
covenant of the Lord of all the earth passeth over before

9. This verse seems to be RD's connecting link with the further announcement of the approaching passage of the ark *vv.* 10, 11, parallel to that in *vv.* 6—8. The double *And Joshua said* here and *v.* 10 (LXX. om.) shews that the two verses come from different sources; *the LORD your God* has a Dtc. ring.

hear the words of the LORD] Joshua speaks as the organ of the divine revelation to the people, just as Moses had been, Num. xi. 24 JE.

10. *Hereby ye shall know*] Cf. Ex. vii. 17, Num. xvi. 28 J. Israel must learn to detect a religious significance in the events of its history. This wonder will prove that Jehovah, unlike the gods of the nations, is a living God who interferes actively on behalf of His people, both now and in the coming struggle for Canaan. The expression *the living God* (*'ĕl ḥai*, cf. Hos. i. 10, Ps. xlii. 2, lxxxiv. 2) does not occur elsewhere in the Hexateuch. For *among you* cf. *v.* 5, iv. 6, in J ten times.

will without fail drive out] Lit. *will certainly cause* (*others*) *to possess*, i.e. *will dispossess*, a Dtc. phrase, as in xiii. 6, xiv. 12, xxiii. 5, 9, 13 RD, though the verb occurs also in J, e.g. xiii. 13, xv. 14 etc. From this point the verse has been expanded by RD.

The list of nations, which is characteristic of D and of Dtc. expansions of JE, represents the whole population of W. Canaan before the Israelite occupation. The reckoning *seven* appears first in Dt. vii. 1, whence the present passage and ch. xxiv. 11; elsewhere the number is *six*, ix. 1, xi. 3, xii. 8 + seven times, or *five*, Ex. xiii. 5 + twice; in Gen. xv. 19—21, probably the latest list, it is *ten*. "The intention of these enumerations is obviously rhetorical, rather than geographical or historical; they are designed for the purpose of presenting an impressive picture of the number and variety of the nations dispossessed by the Israelites" (Driver, *Deut.*, p. 97).

11. *the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth*] See on *v.* 3. Originally the text probably read *the ark*, then *of the covenant* was added, and then, without adapting the grammar, *of the Lord of all the earth*. The latter phrase, denoting the universal lordship of Israel's God, belongs to post-exilic theology; it is found again only in *v.* 13, Mic. iv. 13 (a later prophecy), Zech. iv. 14, vi. 5; cf. Dt. x. 14.

2 you into Jordan. | Now therefore take you twelve men *E.*
3 out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a man. | And *JE*
it shall come to pass, when the soles of the feet of the
priests that bear the ark of the LORD, the Lord of all
the earth, shall rest in the waters of Jordan, that the
waters of Jordan shall be cut off, even the waters that
come down from above; and they shall stand in one heap.
4 And it came to pass, when the people removed from their
tents, to pass over Jordan, the priests that bare the ark
5 of the covenant being before the people; and when they
that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet
of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brink

12. *take you twelve men*] This verse leads to nothing as it stands, and interrupts the connexion between *vv.* 11 and 13. The words are repeated in iv. 2, but their proper place would be before iv. 4—7.

13. *shall rest in the waters of J.*] When this order is carried out the account is differently worded, *v.* 15 *were dipped in the brink of the water*, and perhaps comes from a different source; but the analysis is far from certain. With *shall be cut off* cf. *v.* 16, iv. 7. For the description of the ark see on *v.* 11.

even the waters that come down from above] looks like an explanatory gloss on *the waters of J.*; *from above* (so in *v.* 16) occurs only in P in the Hex.; the LXX. omits the word here, and also *in one heap*, cf. on *v.* 16. Perhaps, therefore, the verse originally ended at *shall be cut off* (so Holmes).

14. The narrative here becomes complicated. Verses 14—16 form one long sentence with three parentheses: *And it came to pass, when...(the priests...being before the people); and when they that bare the ark...(and the feet of the priests...were dipped in the brink of the water), (for J. overfloweth...all the time of harvest), that the waters...stood* etc. The length and awkwardness of the sentence give the impression that the text has been expanded, and put together from parallel accounts; notice that the two statements of time, each followed by a parenthesis, refer to successive, not simultaneous, moments, as though they had been taken over from different versions. The first half of *v.* 14 appears to come from the same source as *v.* 1 (*removed*); the second half, *the priests being before the people*, agrees with *v.* 6. The ungrammatical Hebrew for *the ark of the covenant* shews that *of the covenant* has been inserted.

15. Note the doublet *they that bare the ark* and *the priests that bare the ark*. On account of the elaborate description and the way in which the whole situation has been thought out, Carpenter

JE of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all its banks all the time of harvest,) that the waters which came down 16
from above stood, and rose up in one heap, a great way
[1]off, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: and those

[1] Another reading is, *off from.*

and Harford assign *vv.* 15, 16 to P. But the criteria of style are far from decisive; and it seems better to treat these verses as JE, without undertaking to distinguish the two sources with anything like certainty.

The moment that *the feet of the priests were dipped* (contrast *v.* 13), the way across the river opened out. With *the brink of the water* cf. *v.* 8, where, however, the words are used in a different connexion.

for J. overfloweth...harvest] All the more wonderful, therefore, was the stoppage. The time of year agrees with the hint given in ii. 6; in the neighbourhood of Jericho harvest lasts from mid-April to mid-May, and at this season the Jordan overflows its banks; cf. Ecclus. xxiv. 26. 1 Chr. xii. 15 alludes to a flood in the first month, Nisan, = Mar.-Apr. The wide valley of the Jordan, called in the O.T. *the 'Arābah* and at the present day *el-Ghōr*, contains a deeper bed forming the bottom of the valley, varying from c. 150 ft to c. 200 ft in depth, and c. 200 yds to a mile in breadth, known as ez-Zōr. Its banks are mostly of white marl, and it is thickly covered with tamarisks and semi-tropical, tangled bushes (*the pride*, i.e. *the luxuriance, of Jordan* Jer. xii. 5, xlix. 19, l. 44). Still deeper in ez-Zōr flows the river itself, in a bed c. sixty feet wide, between mud banks from two to twenty-five feet high. Every year the river rises and floods its wider bed, ez-Zōr, when the snow melts in the heights above its tributaries. This is what happened at the time when the Israelites crossed.

16. they *rose up in one heap*] There is no *and* in the Hebr.; the clause is unconnected with the preceding sentence, and looks as if it had been inserted, as in *v.* 13, and suggested by Ex. xv. 8.

a great way off] The idiom as in Gen. xxi. 16, Ex. xxxiii. 7 E.

at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan] The Hebr. text reads *at*, the Hebr. margin, Targ., Pesh., Vulg. read *from*, i.e. a considerable distance N. of Adam. The point of the remark is to give an idea of the extraordinary distance of dry river bed left exposed, between the place where the Israelites crossed and the line of the stoppage of the water. Adam, if = the modern ford ed-Dāmiyeh, would be sixteen miles in a straight line N. of the fords of Jericho, so the distance of dry river bed must have been many miles more. Adam is mentioned only here and perhaps in 1 K. vii. 46, where *in the clay ground* seems to be a corruption of *at the crossing of Adāmah* (the proper spelling of the name here).

that went down toward the sea of the Arabah, even the *JE*
Salt Sea, were wholly cut off: and the people passed over
17 right against Jericho. And the priests that bare the ark
of the covenant of the LORD stood firm on dry ground in

On the E. bank, near the confluence of the Jabbok (ez-Zerḳā) and the Jordan, is a hill called Tell ed-Dāmiyeh, with the ruins of a bridge, Jisr ed-Dāmiyeh, perhaps preserving the ancient name.

The exact position of Zarethan (Hebr. *Ṣarĕthan*) is not known; but it may perhaps be looked for at Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh (1244 ft.), which forms a conspicuous shoulder of the hills which slope from the Central Highlands towards the Jordan valley, due W. of ed-Dāmiyeh[1]. Though the name is different, the position of Ṣarṭabeh agrees well with the references to Ṣarĕthan here and in 1 K. vii. 46 (= Ṣerēdah 2 Chr. iv. 17), but not with the description in 1 K. iv. 12. See Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 5382 f., and Burney in Wellhausen's *Festschrift*, 1914, p. 92 f.

the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea] So xii. 3 RD, Dt. iii. 17; for *the sea of the Arabah* cf. Dt. iv. 49, 2 K. xiv. 25; for *the Salt Sea* cf. xv. 2 *n.*, xviii. 19, Gen. xiv. 3, Num. xxxiv. 3, 12. These are the biblical names for what is now known as the Dead Sea, a name which seems to have come into use with the Greek and Latin writers of the first and second cents. A.D. *The 'Arābah* (i.e. *the desert*) denotes the Jordan valley, now called el-Ghōr, between Chinnéreth and the Dead Sea; also the depression S. of the Dead Sea (Dt. ii. 8), which in the present day retains its ancient name, W. el-'Arābah.

were **clean** *cut off*] The idiom is similar though not identical in *v.* 17, iv. 1. Perhaps the word *clean* (lit. *were finished*) was inserted here from those places.

the people passed over] The crossing takes place now; hence the crossing mentioned in iv. 10 must come from a parallel version, probably E, as this verse and *v.* 17 *a* seem to be taken from J.

17. *the ark of the covenant of the LORD*] The irregular grammar of the Hebr. shews that *of the covenant of the LORD* is an insertion: see on *v.* 3.

firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan] LXX. om. *firm*; perhaps the word has been introduced here from iv. 3. With *dry ground*, the word used by J, Gen. vii. 22, Ex. xiv. 21, Josh. iv. 18, contrast *dry land* in iv. 22, the word used by P, Gen. i. 9, Ex. xiv. 16, 22, 29, xv. 19. Apparently it is J's version which makes the priests stand *in the midst of Jordan* iv. 3 *a*, 18.

[1] For a recent description see *Revue Biblique* N., 1913, pp. 228—234, with plans and photographs, by Père Abel.

JE the midst of Jordan, and all Israel passed over on dry ground, until all the nation were passed clean over Jordan.

and all Israel...] The last half of this verse and the first half of the next (iv. 1 *a*) are expansions of J's narrative by RD. Thus the reference to Israel as a whole is characteristic, cf. *v.* 7 *n.*; the unusual expression *all the nation* (i.e. Israel) occurs again only in iv. 1, v. 6, 8 RD (cf. Ex. xix. 6, xxxiii. 13 JE); the construction *were passed clean over*, lit. *were finished to pass over*, as in v. 8 RD, Dt. ii. 16, is different from that in *v.* 16 lit. *were finished were cut off*.

The mention of *the city Adam* = ed-Dāmiyeh has been thought to imply, not the long extent of dry river bed, but the presence of two traditions as to the place of the crossing, the one locating it at ed-Dāmiyeh, the other sixteen miles lower down, opposite Jericho. Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 2398, gives reasons for this view, and supports it by reading the text of *v.* 16 thus: "(it came to pass) that the water stood still; that which came down from above stood as a heap some distance from the ford of Adamah which is opposite Beth-ṣur." Ṣarēthan = Ṣerērah (or Ṣerēdah) he supposes to be a corruption of Beth-ṣur, which he identifies with Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh. Cheyne's argument is worth considering, though the explanation of *v.* 16 given above has been preferred.

A remarkable parallel to the event recorded in this chap. has been found by M. Clermont-Ganneau in an Arabic MS. at Paris, which gives an account by an Arab historian of the fourteenth cent., named Nowairi, of the following occurrence in the time of the Sultan Bibars I. of Egypt. In A.H. 664 = 1266 A.D. the Sultan ordered a bridge to be built across the Jordan in the neighbourhood of Dāmiyeh. The task was found to be difficult owing to the rise of the waters. But in the night preceding 8th December, 1267, "the water of the river ceased to flow, so that none remained in its bed;" investigations were made, and it was discovered "that a lofty mound which overlooked the river on the west had fallen into it and dammed it up....The water was held up, and had spread itself over the valley above the dam...the water was arrested from midnight until the fourth hour of the day. Then the water prevailed upon the dam and broke it up....The occurrence is one of the most wonderful of events, and the bridge is in existence to this day." See art. by Col. C. M. Watson in *Pal. Expl. Fund's Qtly St.* 1895, pp. 253—261, where the text of Nowairi is given with a translation. E. of Beisān, and from fifteen to twenty miles S. of the Sea of Galilee, and twenty-five miles above ed-Dāmiyeh, the river passes through a gorge between steep banks of marl, some 150 ft in height.

4 And it came to pass, when all the nation were clean *JE*
passed over Jordan, that the LORD spake unto Joshua,

These banks had been undermined by the action of the river, and thus fell into it and caused the obstruction. Landslips at this part of the river's course have been known at the present day; and something of the same kind on a large scale may have happened in the time of Joshua. If this was so, the wonder lay in the coincidence rather than in the event itself: just when Israel needed to cross a passage was made for them by natural causes; God's providence was over-ruling Israel's history then as in the days that followed.

Ch. iv. *The memorial stones.*

The object of this narrative is to give an explanation of the well-known stone circle, "the Gilgal." The traditions varied, and they have been interwoven in a way that makes the analysis more than usually difficult. Two versions can be distinguished, and to these we shall find that a third has been added. (1) *After* the crossing, iv. 1—3: here we are in the camp on the western side of the river. Twelve stones are to be taken *out of the midst of the Jordan* and set up *in the lodging place*; *v.* 8 tells us how the order was carried out. But in *v.* 8 *the children of Israel* are the subject; it is they who *took up twelve stones*; and we notice that in *v.* 3 it is the people who are addressed, *carry ye them over with you, ye shall lodge*. The reference to the twelve men in *v.* 2 is inconsistent with this; we must regard *v.* 2 and *command ye them saying v.* 3 as additions introduced to agree with iii. 12. Originally, then, there was nothing about the twelve men in this account. (2) *Before* the crossing, iv. 4—7: here we are on the eastern bank. Before the start is made, Joshua summons *the twelve men* referred to in iii. 12 (see *n.*), and bids them pass over before the ark into the midst of the river and shoulder each a stone. Were the stones to be taken out of the river bed? We are not told; though probably the writer meant what is expressly stated in the parallel version (1). The narrative implies that the stones are to be carried across to the other side. Then the people *hasted and passed over vv.* 10 *b*, 11; so we arrive at the point which had been reached in iii. 17, iv. 1. (3) *During* the crossing, iv. 9, 10 *a*: here we are in the middle of the river bed *v.* 10 *a*. Joshua sets up twelve stones *in the place where the feet of the priests stood*. The memorial is erected *in* the river; when the water flowed again it was of course submerged, but there it remained *unto this day*. The words *in the place where the feet of the priests stood* seem to have been inserted from *v.* 9 into *v.* 3.

1. *when all the nation...over J.*] See on iii. 17 *b*. *Vv.* 1—3 are definitely connected with iii. 13—17, i.e. the command to set

JE saying, Take you twelve men out of the people, out of 2
every tribe a man, and command ye them, saying, Take 3
you hence out of the midst of Jordan, out of the place
where the priests' feet stood firm, twelve stones, and carry
them over with you, and lay them down in the lodging
E place, where ye shall lodge this night. | Then Joshua 4
called the twelve men, whom he had prepared of the
children of Israel, out of every tribe a man: and Joshua 5

up the memorial stones is given *after* the people have crossed the river.

2. *Take you*] The plur. here and in *v.* 3 (LXX. *take...command* in the sing.) in an order addressed by Jehovah to Joshua suggests that in the original form of the text the order was addressed by Joshua to the people. This is actually the case in iii. 12, which is here repeated. The present verse, intended to harmonize two accounts, only introduces confusion. The twelve bearers do not belong here, but to the parallel version *vv.* 4—7; so *v.* 2 = iii. 12 ought to come before *v.* 4.

3. *and command ye them, saying*] must be regarded as part of the harmonizing insertion.

Take you hence] As we learn from *v.* 8, the sequel to this verse, the command was given to *the children of Israel*, and not to the twelve men. The people are to take up twelve stones *out of the midst* of the river bed.

out of the place...stood firm] According to *v.* 9 this was the place where the stones were to be erected, not the place where they were to be dug up in order to be transported. To obtain consistency, the words, which are omitted by the LXX., must be treated as an insertion from *v.* 9, with the addition of the word *firm*.

in the lodging place] Cf. Gen. xlii. 27, xliii. 21, Ex. iv. 24 J (all the occurrences in the Hex.). Probably we have here J's version of the episode. The stones are to be set up in the camp at Gilgal on the western side of Jordan.

4. *the twelve men, whom he had prepared*] Referring to iii. 12, which is the direct antecedent of the present verse. Here we have the parallel version, probably E's; and if, with Wellhausen (*Comp. des Hex.*[2], p. 121), we understand it as referring to what happened *before* the crossing, the narrative becomes intelligible.

twelve...out of every tribe a man] The division of Israel into twelve tribes had become a literary convention by the time of JE; how artificial it was is shewn (*a*) by the fact that the same division into twelve tribes prevailed elsewhere, among the "sons" of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 20—24), of Ishmael (*ib.* xvii. 20, xxv. 13—16), and of Esau (*ib.* xxxvi. 11—14), and (*b*) by the different ways in

said unto them, Pass over before the ark of the LORD *E*
your God into the midst of Jordan, and take you up
every man of you a stone upon his shoulder, according
unto the number of the tribes of the children of Israel:
6 that this may be a sign among you, that when your ? *J*
children ask in time to come, saying, What mean ye by
7 these stones? then ye shall say unto them, Because

which the number was made up; see the Table in *DB.* IV., p. 811. Various allusions in the early histories justify the remark that "never can the 'twelve tribes' of Israel have been all in existence together" (Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 5204); different combinations existed at different periods; so that we cannot be certain that the tribes recognized under the monarchy, at the period of JE, corresponded with those before the conquest of Canaan. How the number was arrived at can only be conjectured. An attempt has been made, with some success, to trace a connexion between the twelve tribes and the twelve months and the signs of the Zodiac; see Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 534 f. Another theory finds a suggestion in Solomon's partition of the land into twelve districts for commissariat purposes; each officer had to make provision *for a month* in the year, 1 K. iv. 7 ff. Though the usual number is twelve, eleven tribes are named in Jud. v., 1 K. xi. 31 f.; thirteen in Josh. xiii. —xix. and Ezek. xlviii.; fourteen in 1 Chr. xii. 24—37.

5. *Pass over before the ark of the Lord your God*] This leaves no doubt that Joshua is speaking on the eastern bank, and at the moment of starting to cross the river. The LXX. reads *Pass over before me before the Lord*, an interesting doublet: לפני *before* was first rendered *before me*, and then read as לפני יי *before Jehovah*, the divine Name being represented by the initial letter. Perhaps, therefore, the Hebr. text originally had *Pass over before Jehovah*, and *the ark* and *your God* are later additions; so Holmes, *Josh.*, p. 26.

and take you up] This looks as if the stones were to be taken up after the men had passed *into the midst of Jordan*; the mention of the place implies that something was to be done when the men got there. But the instruction is not quite clear, and some think that the stones were to be collected on the eastern bank, before the men started to cross. We may, however, interpret the present passage in the light of the parallel version, *v.* 3; see p. 26.

6. *a sign among you*] The stones are to be erected where they will attract attention among the Israelites, and provoke questions; contrast *v.* 9, and cf. iii. 10 *n.*

when your children ask] Similarly of the passover Ex. xii. 26 J, of the unleavened bread *ib.* xiii. 8 J, of the sacrifice of

(? J) the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the LORD; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off: and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the children of Israel for ever. |
(J) And the children of Israel did so as Joshua commanded, 8
and took up twelve stones out of the midst of Jordan, as the LORD spake unto Joshua, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel; and they carried them over with them unto the place where they lodged,
(RD) and laid them down there. | And Joshua set up twelve 9
stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood: and they are there, unto this day. For the priests which 10
bare the ark stood in the midst of Jordan, until every thing was finished that the LORD commanded Joshua to speak unto the people, according to all that Moses commanded

firstlings *ib.* xiii. 14 J, of the Dtc. law Dt. vi. 20, cf. Dt. xxxii. 7. Carp. and Har. assign this verse and *v.* 7 *a* to J, following *v.* 3.

7. *were cut off*] Cf. iii. 13, 16.

the waters of J. were cut off] Where the words occur the second time the LXX. omits them; the sentence is in narrative form, and does not continue the clause beginning with *Because*; probably it was inserted by an editor.

shall be for a memorial] Exactly as Ex. xii. 14, xxx. 16, Num. x. 10 P; but Ex. xiii. 9 J (? RP).

8. This verse, repeating the language of *v.* 3, forms the continuation of *vv.* 1—3 (? of *vv.* 6, 7 *a*). The stones are taken up *out of the midst of J.* and erected in the camp at Gilgal.

9. *set up...in the midst of*] Here we have a different version: the memorial stones are set up in the bed of the river, *in the place where the feet of the priests stood.* The LXX. attempts to harmonize by reading *twelve other stones*; so Vulg., alios quoque duodecim lapides.

and they are there, unto this day] Cf. Dt. x. 5 *and they are there,* 1 K. viii. 8 RD (the full phrase as here). The expression *unto this day* (fifteen times besides in Josh., JE nine times, RD five times, RP once) is frequently used by the Dtc. compiler of Kings; this verse and the first half of the next may be due to RD. The author writes from his knowledge of things as they were before the exile.

10. *according to all that Moses commanded Joshua*] Referring to such passages as Dt. iii. 28, xxxi. 3, 7, 23, in which Moses charges Joshua to lead the people over the Jordan. The LXX.

11 Joshua: | and the people hasted and passed over. And *E*
it came to pass, when all the people were clean passed
over, that the ark of the LORD passed over, and the
12 priests, in the presence of the people. | And the children *RD*
of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half tribe
of Manasseh, passed over armed before the children of
13 Israel, as Moses spake unto them: | about forty thousand *P*
ready armed for war passed over before the LORD unto
14 battle, to the plains of Jericho. | On that day the LORD *RD*

om. this sentence, probably because they did not find it in the Hebr. text; almost certainly a later addition.

and the people hasted and passed over] Cf. viii. 14, 19. These words form the sequel of *vv.* 4 and 5, which tell us what happened before the crossing. Now follows the crossing itself, here and in *v.* 11.

11. *all the people were clean passed over*] The narrative arrives at the point which has already been reached in iii. 17, iv. 1; note *all the people* instead of *all the nation*.

in the presence of the people] i.e. when the people were assembled on the western bank, the priests with the ark having remained in the river bed while the people were passing over; this agrees with *vv.* 10, 16. The Hebr. may also mean, and more naturally, *before the people*, i.e. the priests led the way, and the people followed them; this agrees with iii. 6, 14. The LXX. gives *and the stones before them* or, as a group of cursives reads, *before it* (i.e. the ark); if we adopt the latter as the true reading, the LXX. seems to point to a Hebr. text which had *with the stones before it* (so Holmes), agreeing with *v.* 5; but this, though good Hebr., is a somewhat bizarre expression.

12. The two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes kept their promise to join their brethren in the conquest of Canaan; see on i. 13. For the word *armed*, or *in battle array*, see on i. 14. The verse comes from RD; cf. i. 12 *n*.

before the children of Israel] Cf. Dt. iii. 18, and contrast *before Jehovah v.* 13.

13. *about forty thousand ready armed for war*] The different word for *armed* (*ḥalūṣīm* = *equipped*) marks a different source; and the statistics indicate that the source is P; cf. Num. xxxi. 5, xxxii. 20, 21, 27 P. In Num. xxvi. the fighting strength of the two and a half tribes is counted at 110,580 (dividing Manasseh by half), but here at 40,000; no doubt the explanation is that in the present passage we have a later stratum of P (so Carp. and Har.).

the plains of Jericho] Cf. v. 10 P, 2 K. xxv. 5 = Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8; and see on ii. 1. The *steppes* (plur. of *'arābah*) of Jericho

RD magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they
feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life.
P And the LORD spake unto Joshua, saying, Command 15 16
the priests that bear the ark of the testimony, that they
come up out of Jordan. Joshua therefore commanded 17
JE the priests, saying, Come ye up out of Jordan. | And it 18
came to pass, when the priests that bare the ark of the
covenant of the LORD were come up out of the midst of
Jordan, and the soles of the priests' feet were lifted up
unto the dry ground, that the waters of Jordan returned
unto their place, and went over all its banks, as aforetime. |
P And the people came up out of Jordan on the tenth day 19

corresponded to the *steppes* of Moab (xiii. 32) on the other side of the Jordan.

14. *magnified Joshua...all the days of his life*] See on iii. 7 and i. 5.

16. *the ark of the testimony*] An expression characteristic of P; cf. iii. 3 *n*. Various turns of language in *vv*. 15—17 betray the hand of P. Although, according to Num. iii. 31, iv. 15, the Levites and not the priests bear the ark, yet in this case the action of the priests was fixed in the tradition, and P may have allowed it to stand as the occasion was so extraordinary.

18. The continuation of JE's narrative. For the language cf. iii. 13, 15.

19. A single verse from P, as the exact dating shews; cf. v. 10 P and thirty-nine times.

the tenth day of the first month] Thus, according to P, the crossing of the Jordan took place on the same day and month of the year as the exodus from Egypt and the institution of the passover, Ex. xii. 2 f., 51. The *first month* = Mar.-Apr. The early custom of the Hebrews was to begin the year in the autumn (Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22), and to call the months by their ancient Canaanite names, e.g. Abib = Mar.-Apr., Bul, Ethanim etc.; so J, E, D, and the older historical books. But with Jer., Ezek., and the compiler of Kings, a twofold change takes place: the year begins in spring, and the months are numbered instead of being named. This is the usage of P. According to P the change in the beginning of the year was introduced with the passover at the time of the exodus (Ex. xii. 2); as a matter of fact it came into use at the period of the exile under Babylonian influence; whether the designation of the months by numbers was also a Babylonian custom at the same period has not yet been made out. In the post-exilic literature, Zech., Ezr., Neh., Chr., the Babylonian names of the months begin to occur, either

of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, on the east *P*
20 border of Jericho. | And those twelve stones, which they *JE*
21 took out of Jordan, did Joshua set up in Gilgal. | And *RD*
he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, When your
children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying,
22 What mean these stones? then ye shall let your children
know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land.
23 For the LORD your God dried up the waters of Jordan
from before you, until ye were passed over, as the LORD
your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from
24 before us, until we were passed over: that all the peoples
of the earth may know the hand of the LORD, that it is
mighty; that [1]they may fear the LORD your God for ever.

[1] So with a change of vowel-points. The pointing of the text is irregular.

along with or in the place of the numbers, e.g. Nisan = the first month, Elul, Chislev etc.

encamped in Gilgal] All the sources agree in stationing the head-quarters of Joshua and his army at Gilgal throughout the period of the conquest (chs. i.—xii.), and even later; v. 10 P, ix. 6 E, x. 6 J, 15, 43 RD, xiv. 6 RD. The camp is here described as lying *at the limit of the east of Jericho*, i.e. at the extreme E. of the Jericho district. The site cannot be fixed with certainty; Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1, 4, places it ten stadia, or a little over a mile, E. of Jericho (i.e. the Jericho of N.T. times); Jerome and Eusebius, two Roman miles in the same direction, *Onom.* 126 and 243. The name Tell Jeljul has been heard by travellers in this neighbourhood, and Conder declares that in the form Jiljūlieh the name is applied to some small hills and the remains of a tank about a mile E. of Erīḥā (*Tent Work*, p. 203 f.). Clermont-Ganneau, however, who excavated in the district, considers the identification extremely doubtful.

This Gilgal was a Canaanite sanctuary before the arrival of the Israelites, as Jud. iii. 19 implies; but there were other places of the same name, and it is not certain that the much frequented sanctuary to which Hosea and Amos refer (Hos. iv. 15, Am. iv. 4 etc.) was the Gilgal of Joshua's camp.

20. these *twelve stones*] Referring to *these stones* of *vv.* 5—7.

21—24. RD's explanation of the memorial; cf. *vv.* 6, 7. The Dtc. colouring of the language and thought is strongly marked: thus with *v.* 21 cf. Dt. vi. 20; with *v.* 22 cf. Dt. iv. 9, viii. 3, and contrast the word for *dry land* with that in iii. 17 JE; for *Jehovah your God* see on i. 9; with *as...did to* cf. ix. 9 *b*, 10, xxiii. 3, xxiv.

RD And it came to pass, when all the kings of the Amorites, 5
which were beyond Jordan westward, and all the kings
of the Canaanites, which were by the sea, heard how
that the LORD had dried up the waters of Jordan from
before the children of Israel, until [1]we were passed over,
that their heart melted, neither was there spirit in them
any more, because of the children of Israel. |

[1] Another reading is, *they*.

7, 31 RD; with *v.* 24 *a* cf. Dt. xxviii. 10, 1 K. viii. 60, Dt. iii. 24 and often; with *v.* 24 *b* cf. Dt. vi. 2, 13 etc., iv. 10, v. 29 etc. There was a purpose in this miraculous passage of the Jordan: all nations for all time are to recognize the might of the only, living God. The range of view is remarkable and unusual, though something of the kind is found in Dt. xxviii. 10.

4. *The camp at Gilgal: circumcision*, ch. v.

While encamped at Gilgal, the Israelites are circumcised in obedience to the divine command; Jehovah explains that, as a consequence, *the reproach of Egypt* has been rolled away; hence the name *Gilgal*, i.e. *rolling*; *vv.* 2. 3, 8 *b*, 9. In this connexion *the reproach of Egypt* can only mean that the Egyptians reproached the Israelites with being uncircumcised. Were the Israelites, then, uncircumcised while they lived in Egypt? To avoid such a deplorable inference RD has introduced an explanation, *vv.* 4—8 *a*: those who came out of Egypt had undergone the rite, it was only the new generation, born after the exodus, who had neglected it. On the analogy of Ex. iv. 24—26 Carpenter-Harford assign *vv.* 2, 3, 9 to J; others, such as Steuernagel and Holzinger, to E.

The account of the passover at Gilgal, *vv.* 10—12, comes from P; that of Joshua's vision, *vv.* 13—15, from J, and was probably placed here to serve as an introduction to ch. vi.

1. The miraculous crossing of the Jordan began at once to produce the effect announced in iv. 24: the Amorite and Canaanite kings were paralysed with fear and rendered incapable of any vigorous self-defence. Such is RD's interpretation; according to JE, however, the inhabitants of W. Palestine were only subdued by force of arms.

beyond Jordan] usually means the country E. of the river, but here the western side, as in ix. 1, xii. 7, xxii. 7 RD, Dt. iii. 20, 25, xi. 30.

how that the LORD had dried up] Cf. ii. 10, iv. 23 RD.

until we were passed over] So Hebr. text; the writer throws himself into the past as one of his people; cf. *v.* 6 (*give us*), Ps. lxvi. 6.

that their heart melted etc.] See ii. 11 *n.*

2 At that time the LORD said unto Joshua, Make thee *J*
knives of flint, and circumcise again the children of Israel
3 the second time. And Joshua made him knives of flint,
and circumcised the children of Israel at [1]the hill of the

[1] Or, *Gibeath-haaraloth*

2. *At that time*] An introductory formula in the manner of RD (cf. Dt. x. 1, 8). Otherwise, with the exception of *again, the second time* in this verse, *vv.* 2, 3, 8 *b*, 9 come from J.

knives of flint] Similarly in Ex. iv. 24 ff., Zipporah, the Midianite wife of Moses, uses a flint to circumcise her son; for *knives*, lit. *swords*, cf. Ex. xx. 25 (*thy tool*). The use of flint implements in the rite carries back its origin to a remote age when metal knives were unknown. An early Egyptian wall-picture in a tomb at Sakkāra represents the surgeons using flints for the operation; see the illustration in Gressmann, *Texte u. Bilder* II., p. 126. After xxiv. 30 the LXX. contains the interesting addition that the knives of stone with which Joshua circumcised the children of Israel at Gilgal were buried with him in his tomb.

again...the second time] An editorial attempt to make the present account agree with the theory that the Israelites had been circumcised in Egypt. This was the theory of D and of P, perhaps even of RJE (on the strength of Ex. iv. 24 ff.). P at any rate would hold that the Israelites under twenty (Num. xiv. 29) who came out of Egypt had been circumcised; therefore the present account must mean that they were circumcised *again, the second time*! But we cannot say for certain at what stage in the history of the text these words were inserted; perhaps it was at the latest, and later than the time when the Gk. version was made; for the LXX. omits *the second time*, and reads *again* differently.

3. *at the hill of the foreskins*] A proper name; see R.V. m. The hill was so called on account of the incident described in this verse; that is to say, we have here a legend founded on a name, exactly like the legend connected with Gilgal in *v.* 9. What, then, was the real origin of the name Hill of the Foreskins? It is possible that the youths of the neighbourhood, the young Benjamites for instance, were accustomed to come to Gilgal to be circumcised at the sanctuary, and that their foreskins were buried in the mound. Then, when the legend arose which connected Gilgal with the circumcision of the Israelites under Joshua, the name of the hill was explained by the same occasion. This conjecture is due to Stade (*ZATW.* 1886, pp. 132—143), and has been widely accepted.

Vv. 4—7 make a further attempt to reconcile the present

RD foreskins. | And this is the cause why Joshua did circum- 4
cise: all the people that came forth out of Egypt, that
were males, even all the men of war, died in the wilderness
by the way, after they came forth out of Egypt. For all 5
the people that came out were circumcised: but all the
people that were born in the wilderness by the way as
they came forth out of Egypt, they had not circumcised.
For the children of Israel walked forty years in the wilder- 6
ness, till all the nation, even the men of war which came
forth out of Egypt, were consumed, because they hark-
ened not unto the voice of the LORD: unto whom the
LORD sware that he would not let them see the land
which the LORD sware unto their fathers that he would
give us, a land flowing with milk and honey. And their 7

narrative with preconceived theories. It is RD here who labours to prove that the circumcision at Gilgal was due to the neglect of the rite since the exodus.

4. *this is the cause*] On the supposition that the rite had been observed in Egypt (*v.* 5), how was it that no circumcised males were left? (1) All the warriors had died, *v.* 4; (2) the male children born during the wanderings had not been circumcised, *v.* 5. The explanation is awkwardly expressed, mainly because the writer tries to reproduce the qualifications with which his authorities had modified the terms of the divine sentence on the rebellious people: thus *all the people that came forth out of Egypt...died* (so *v.* 6, Num. xiv. 21—23, Dt. i. 35) is qualified by the insertion of *even all the men of war* (so *v.* 6, Dt. ii. 14 Hebr.): in P the limitation is made still more precise, *from twenty years old and upwards* Num. xiv. 29, xxxii. 11.

that were males] One of P's characteristic words, and probably added by a late editor; LXX. om.

by the way, after they came forth out of Egypt] So *v.* 5, Dt. xxiii. 4, xxiv. 9, xxv. 17.

5. This verse appears to be a later addition to RD; it interrupts the connexion between *v.* 4 and *v.* 6, and in cl. *b* merely repeats the substance of *v.* 7 *b*; it is not represented in the LXX.

6. *walked forty years in the wilderness*] Cf. Dt. ii. 7.

all the nation...were consumed] Lit. *were finished*; the same words in *v.* 8, iii. 17 *b*, iv. 1; cf. Dt. ii. 14—16.

For the Dtc. phrases in this verse, *hearkened not unto the voice of the Lord, sware, land flowing with milk and honey*, cf. Dt. iv. 30 and often; ch. i. 6 *n.*; Dt. i. 34 ff., vi. 3 + five times, eight times in JE.

The verse does not explain why those born on the way had not

children, whom he raised up in their stead, them did *RD*
Joshua circumcise: for they were uncircumcised, because
8 they had not circumcised them by the way. And it
came to pass, when they had done circumcising all the
nation, | that they abode in their places in the camp, till *J*
9 they were whole. And the LORD said unto Joshua, This
day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off
you. Wherefore the name of that place was called
[1]Gilgal, unto this day: |

[1] That is, *Rolling*.

been circumcised (*v.* 5, see note), but continues *v.* 4, explaining why *all the nation, (even) the men of war, were consumed.*

7. *by the way*] Cf. *v.* 4 and *v.* 5 *n.*

8. *when they had done circumcising all the nation*] Lit. *when all the nation were finished being circumcised*; cf. on *v.* 6. This half of the verse seems to come from RD; the second half continues the ancient narrative, *vv.* 2, 3.

till they were whole] Lit. *lived*; for this meaning cf. Num. xxi. 8 f., 2 K. i. 2.

9. *the reproach of Egypt*] i.e. the Egyptians treated the Israelites with scorn as an uncivilized, barbarous people: obviously this proves that the Israelites were uncircumcised, and the same is implied by Ex. iv. 24—26. The Philistines were similarly looked upon with contempt by the Israelites; Jud. xiv. 3 etc.

This disgrace, Jehovah declares, *I have rolled away* (*gallōthi*). The verb is used for the sake of a play on *Gilgal*, as though the name meant *Rolling* (cf. another play on the name in Am. v. 4); it is indeed derived from the verb *galal* = *roll, roll away* (e.g. Gen. xxix. 3, 8), but the noun *gilgal* = *a wheel* (Is. xxviii. 28), and in the present case *a stone-circle*, marking a holy place. Such stone-circles or cromlechs must have been common in Palestine, for there are at least five different places called Gilgal in the O.T.; ruins of these sanctuaries are now found only in Galilee and on the E. of the Jordan, e.g. at 'Ain el-Minyeh, N.E. of the Dead Sea; *Survey of E. Pal.* 1889, p. 11, where a plan is given.

Wherefore the name of that place was called] So Gen. xxii. 14 RJE, xxviii. 19 J; perhaps *place* has the technical meaning of *sanctuary*, as in Gen. xii. 6, xxii. 3, 14, xxviii. 11, 19.

unto this day] Cf. iv. 9 RD, vi. 25, vii. 26 JE, and often in JE.

It will be seen that what we have here is not an account of the origin of the sanctuary at Gilgal, but a verbal play on the meaning of the name. The narrative implies that the place had this name before the Israelites came there; see iv. 3, 20. Like most of the holy places in Palestine, Gilgal had long been a centre of Canaanite

worship, as we may gather from Jud. iii. 19; in the course of time it passed into Israelite occupation, see *Judges* (Cambr. B.), p. xxxviii.

The question has been asked, and there is much force in it, Would any commander have disabled his forces by circumcising them at the beginning of a campaign and in a hostile country? A clue to the answer is given by this verse. The story of the circumcision of the children of Israel at Gilgal was a tradition which grew up in connexion with the sanctuary and, to some extent at any rate, it was suggested by a fanciful interpretation of the name Gilgal; cf. on *v.* 3. We are here in the region of national legend, not of history in the strict sense.

No authentic tradition of the institution of circumcision among the Hebrews has been preserved. The earliest reference to the rite, Ex. iv. 24 ff., shews that it was practised by the Midianites and that Moses had not been circumcised before; *the reproach of Egypt* (supr. *v.* 9) implies, as we have seen, that the Egyptians were circumcised and the Israelites were not; on the other hand, D maintains that the latter did observe the rite before the exodus; while P, in accordance with his interpretation of the national history, carries back the institution to the days of Abraham, Gen. xvii.

As to the meaning of circumcision, which was widely practised in ancient times both by Semitic and by non-Semitic peoples, anthropological research has thrown much light. Among the Hebrews circumcision was, and still is, performed in infancy; but with most races at the age of puberty. This points to the primary significance of the custom: it marked the attainment of manhood and the liberty to marry (note especially in this connexion Ex. iv. 24 ff. and Gen. xxxiv.); it gave the youth a status among the men of his tribe. But admission to full tribal rights included admission to the tribal worship. There can be no doubt that from the earliest times circumcision had a religious meaning. Thus in Israel it was regarded as a token of allegiance to the national God; the prophetic writers treated it as a symbol which could be spiritually applied, e.g. Dt. x. 16, xxx. 6, Ezek. xliv. 7, 9. With the exile, and among the Dispersion, a new importance came to be attached to the rite, because it was one which, like the sabbath, the Jew could observe when sacrificial worship was no longer possible; it was the badge of his nation when a national life no more existed. Hence, although circumcision is not enjoined in the decalogue nor in any of the early laws, it receives the utmost emphasis in the Priestly Code; here we find its implicit meaning fully developed; by express enactment it is made the token of the national covenant with Jehovah; Gen. xvii.; cf. Ex. xii. 48, Lev. xii. 3.

10—12. After they had been circumcised the Israelites were qualified to keep the passover, according to P's regulation in Ex. xii. 43—49; so it is P which gives an account of its observance.

10 And the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal; and *P*
they kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the
11 month at even in the plains of Jericho. And they did
eat of the [1]old corn of the land on the morrow after the
passover, unleavened cakes and parched corn, in the
12 selfsame day. And the manna ceased on the morrow,
after they had eaten of the [1]old corn of the land; neither
had the children of Israel manna any more; but they
did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year. |

[1] Or, *produce* Or, *corn*

Only four instances of the celebration of the passover are mentioned in the O.T.: the present one, Hezekiah's (2 C. xxx. 15—17, *not* in 2 Kings), Josiah's (2 K. xxiii. 21—23), that of 516 B.C. (Ezr. vi. 19 f.).

10. *And the children of Israel...Gilgal*] These words are an editorial connecting link with iv. 19 P; LXX. om. P's narrative begins with *and they kept the passover*, which continues iv. 19.

on the fourteenth day] Cf. Ex. xii. 6, Lev. xxiii. 5, Num. ix. 3, xxviii. 16. The preparations for the passover took place on the 10th; so P makes that the day on which the Israelites pitched their camp at Gilgal, iv. 19.

at even] So Ex. xii. 18 P, Dt. xvi. 4, 6. Elsewhere P uses the expression *between the two evenings* Ex. xii. 6, Lev. xxiii. 5, Num. ix. 3, 5, 11 R.V. m. The alteration here reveals a later hand of the school of P.

the plains of Jericho] See on iv. 13.

11. *of the old corn*] **produce**; only here and in *v.* 12.

on the morrow after the passover] The day on which Israel went out of Egypt, Num. xxxiii. 3 P. The LXX. omits the words, and *on the morrow* in *v.* 12. Either the words were not in the Hebr. text which the LXX. were translating, or it was felt that they disagreed with the ordinance in Lev. xxiii. 6—14. *Maṣṣoth* (unleavened bread) begins on the day after the passover and lasts seven days; *on the morrow after* the sabbath comes the oblation of the new sheaf, and no *parched corn* nor fresh ears are to be eaten until this oblation has been made. But the disagreement must not be pressed; P only says that the Israelites at Gilgal kept maṣṣoth on the 15th of the month, using for the first time *the produce of the land* of Canaan: the full ritual was not observed.

in the selfsame day] Lit. *in the bone* (i.e. *the substance*) *of the day*, a characteristic phrase, x. 27 RP + twelve times in P.

12. *the manna ceased*] in accordance with Ex. xvi. 35 P. For *the manna* see Driver, *Exodus* (Cambr. B.), p. 153 f.

that year] What year? The allusion is intelligible by a reference to Ex. xvi. 35, upon which this verse depends.

J And it came to pass, when Joshua was by Jericho, 13
that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, there
stood a man over against him with his sword drawn in his
hand: and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him,
Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? And he said, 14
Nay; but *as* [1]captain of the host of the LORD am I now
come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did
worship, and said unto him, What saith my lord unto his

[1] Or, *prince*

13—15. Just as Moses had received his commission directly from Jehovah in a vision (Ex. iii. 2 ff. E), so Joshua receives his. The two Theophanies have much in common; cf. *v.* 15 with Ex. iii. 5; *the captain of the host of the* LORD is the counterpart of *the angel of the* LORD. But here the narrative breaks off before the Heavenly Champion utters the words for which Joshua is waiting. The vision was intended for his encouragement and guidance in view of a coming conflict (see *v.* 13 end): what the situation was appears in the next chapter.

13. *by Jericho*] The prep. naturally means *in* or *at*, but the context requires *by* (cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 1 *by the fountain*, Ezek. x. 15, 20); for it implies that Joshua was at Gilgal, perhaps in the sanctuary, where *the angel of the* LORD abode (Jud. ii. 1): *by Jericho* instead of *in Gilgal* shews that this narrative has a bearing upon the siege of Jericho (Steuernagel).

At first sight the unknown visitant seems to be *a man*, cf. the similar appearances in Jud. vi. 11 ff., xiii. 3, 6, Gen. xviii., xxxii. 24—30 J; in the end he is found to be more than human.

with his sword drawn in his hand] So Num. xxii. 23, 31 J: several points of style in these verses indicate the work of J.

14. as *captain of the host of the* LORD] Only the Captain was seen; but we may think of the host as present, though invisible, round about God's servant, 2 K. vi. 16, 17. The divine armies are called *the host of heaven* in 1 K. xxii. 19, and *the camp of Elohim* in Gen. xxxii. 3; this conception perhaps underlies the name *Jehovah of hosts*. The designation of the Champion, and his words *am I now come*, suggest that he is about to fight for Israel in the wars against the Canaanites. It was the ancient idea that Jehovah Himself travelled from His seat and fought in Israel's battles (e.g. Jud. v. 4, 5, 23); probably, therefore, *the captain of Jehovah's army* is to be understood as none other than Jehovah Himself in manifestation, corresponding to *the angel of Jehovah* elsewhere (Jud. ii. 1, vi. 11 etc.). So the Rabbis, who interpret the Captain's words as meaning "In every place where I am seen, God is seen": Midr. R. *Genesis*, § 97.

Joshua at once acknowledges the supernatural character of

15 servant? And the captain of the LORD'S host said unto *J*
Joshua, Put off thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place
whereon thou standest is holy. And Joshua did so.

the Champion, and makes an act of obeisance (cf. Num. xxii. 31 J), but he does not yet recognize Him as God: *my lord* (*adōnī*), as used in addressing superiors, not *Lord* (*adōnai*).

15. *Put off thy shoe*] or, *sandal*; cf. Ex. iii. 5 J. The *place* of this spiritual encounter was a sanctuary, therefore sandals must be left outside, lest they should contaminate holy ground: such is the custom still in the East Only sacred garments, or garments ceremonially cleansed, could be worn within the precincts; cf. Ezek. xliv. 19.

And Joshua did so] LXX. om. The passage breaks off without giving the Angel's message.

B. CHS. VI.—XII. THE STORY OF THE CONQUEST.

1. *Conquest of the approaches to the Central Highlands*, chs. vi.—viii.

a. The capture of Jericho, ch. vi.

The capture of Jericho is described in picturesque and elaborate detail, for the event was an important one and excited the interest of later ages. But the narrative does not make a clear impression; the main features are often inconsistent, a sure sign of composite authorship, and the hands of annotators have introduced further confusion; in fact it seems that the narrative has grown by successive stages out of a much simpler story. The text of this chapter continued to receive alterations down to a late period, as we learn from a comparison with the LXX., which differs widely from the M.T. here, and points, in more than one passage, to an earlier stage in the growth of the tradition.

Two main accounts can be distinguished: in one of them (*a*) the march round the city takes place once a day for seven days, and Joshua gives the signal which brings down the walls, *vv.* 3, 7 *a*, 10—12 *a*, 14, 15 *a*, 16 *b*, 17, 20 *a*; in the other (*b*) the procession goes round seven times, apparently on one day, and the horn gives the signal for the shout, *vv.* 4—6, 12 *b*, 13, 16 *a*, 20 *b*. An attempt has been made to reconcile the two accounts by the insertion of *the seventh day v.* 4 in (*b*), and of *seven times: only on that day they compassed the city seven times v.* 15 in (*a*). As the text stands the circuit of the city was made thirteen times!

Further, we notice that in (*a*) Joshua speaks to the people, *vv.* 7 *a* (R.V. m.), 10, 16 *b*; the priests do not appear at all, the ark is mentioned only once, *v.* 11, and in a manner which makes it doubtful whether the text is right; while in (*b*) Joshua addresses all his instructions to the priests; the priests and the ark are

essential to the action, which moves in ceremonious order, the armed men, the seven priests, the ark, the rearguard, *vv.* 4, 6, 7 *b*—9, 12 *b*—15.

Now the seven priests carry seven horns for the purpose, apparently, of giving the signal when the moment came, *v.* 4; nevertheless they blow their horns continually as they go, and the rearguard do the same, *vv.* 8, 9, 13. How, then, would the people be able to distinguish the signal? Moreover, *v.* 10 from (*a*) enjoins absolute silence during the circuit of the walls. The blowing with the horns must be a detail introduced into the original story by some reader, we may imagine, who could not help thinking of the priestly trumpeters in the Second Temple (cf. 2 C. v. 12 f., vii. 6, xxix. 26 etc.). But even when these insertions are recognized, the narrative (*b*) still causes perplexity: *v.* 5 announces that the signal is to be *a long blast with the ram's horn...the sound of the horn* (note the doublet); but at the critical moment, *v.* 16 *a*, the priests blow, not a prolonged note, but sharp, repeated blasts on *the horns*, i.e. the seven horns which they carried. Lastly, Rahab and her household are delivered twice over, in *vv.* 22, 23 and in *v.* 25; cf. 17.

Thus a comparison between (*a*) and (*b*) reveals a tendency to enrich the narrative, and especially in a liturgical direction. It is quite possible that not only the blowing of the horns, but the processions round the city, were suggested by the temple ceremonial. On the feast of tabernacles it was the custom to sound the *shōphār*, and with palm branches and boughs of willow to go in procession round the altar once a day for the first six days, and seven times on the seventh day (Talm. B. *Sukkah* iv. 5, or seven times daily on each of the seven days according to Jubilees xvi. 31)[1]. The persistence of the number *seven* is a noteworthy feature both in the ceremonial and in the present narrative.

The story, then, has grown with the course of time. In its original form it told a simpler tale, more like that which has been preserved in the LXX. The Gk. version reads *vv.* 2—5 as follows: "And the Lord said unto Joshua, Behold I deliver Jericho into thy hand and its king who is in it, being mighty men in strength. [3] And do thou surround it with the men of war round about; [4] and it shall be when ye shall sound with the trumpet, let all the people shout together; [5] and when they shout the walls of the city shall fall down of themselves, and all the people shall rush in, each man straight into the city." There is nothing here about processions or priests or carrying the ark: we seem to trace the outlines of an original story, which told simply how the city was surrounded and taken by assault, a most probable thing to happen. From this plain original the story was elaborated first into the account of (*a*), and then, with still fuller detail, into that of (*b*). The interpretation which later readers

[1] This suggestion is due to Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 172.

put upon the word *surround* may have had something to do with the process, as Mr Holmes thinks (*Joshua*, p. 38): *surround* was taken to mean *march round*, a sense which it has nowhere else in the O.T., except Ps. xlviii. 12.

Though the criteria for distinguishing the sources are far from decisive, there is some probability that (*a*) comes from J, and (*b*) from E. The following analysis, which is based upon that of Wellhausen (*Composition d. Hex.*, p. 123 f.), and adopted by Carpenter-Harford with a few modifications, may be proposed: J *vv.* 3, 7 *a*, 10—12 *a*, 14, 15*, 16 *b*, 17*, 20 *a c*, 21, 25 f.; E *vv.* 4—6*, 7 *b*—9*, 12 *b*, 13*, 16 *a*, 20 *b**, 22—24 *a**; JE *vv.* 1, 2*; RD *vv.* 18, 27; RP *vv.* 19, 24 *b*.

The site of the ancient Jericho (see p. 9) has recently been excavated over a large part of the area by Prof. Sellin and Prof. Watzinger, who, after some preliminary reports (1908—9), have published in a fine volume an exhaustive account of the results of their work, *Jericho : die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 1913, which may be briefly summarized so far as they concern the present chapter. For centuries before Jericho emerges into history at the time of the Israelite invasion the place had been occupied as a fortified town. In this pre-historic period two events have left their mark behind them, the destruction of a most ancient wall still traceable below the foundations of later buildings on the N.W., and the erection of the double wall surrounding the city itself: most authorities would add the building of the great outer wall, which, however, the excavators now assign to an Israelite origin (see p. 43 below, and *v.* 20 *n.*). Then came the overthrow of the walls (or, as S. and W. maintain, of the double wall) on the east and south-east sides. Judging from the remains of pottery, and from an observation of all the evidence which the site has yielded, the excavators date the destruction of the double wall c. 1500 B.C. at the latest. This brings us into the period to which the Amarna tablets belong, and Prof. Sellin believes that the Hebrew tribes were included among the *Habiru*, a race of plundering nomads, who, as we learn from the tablets, were the scourge of the Canaanite cities during this age. A date so early as 1500 B.C., Prof. Sellin admits, is difficult to fit in with any probable date of the exodus (? thirteenth cent. B.C.). Père Vincent, an excellent authority, thinks that 1500 B.C. is too early by a century and a half for the destruction of the walls of Jericho, and that the connexion of the Hebrews with the Habiru is too positively asserted (*Revue Biblique*, 1913, p. 454). We cannot in fact, with our present knowledge, settle the point; at this remote period historical combinations and dates are still largely a matter of guess-work. After the overthrow of the walls on the E. and S.E. sides, the excavations shew that the city long remained in ruin, but not uninhabited; the new settlement continued to be mainly Canaanite, and remains of pottery belonging to the twelfth and

E (Now Jericho [1] was straitly shut up because of the children 6
of Israel: none went out, and none came in.) And the 2
LORD said unto Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand
Jericho, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of
J valour. | And ye shall compass the city, all the men of 3

[1] Heb. *shut* the gates *and was shut in.*

eleventh cents., of the type which is now known as "Aegean," cover the whole of the old city area. Prof. Sellin calls this "the late-Canaanite" period. Then in the first half of the ninth cent. we reach the Israelite period[1], and Jericho becomes once more a fortified city. It is unnecessary to follow further the course of the history as revealed by the excavations. They have brought to light facts which agree in a remarkable way with the outlines of the biblical tradition. They shew that the wall did not fall down flat, and that the city was not burned by fire (*vv.* 20, 24); but they support the conclusion arrived at above as to the contents of the original story: the city was captured after assault by an enemy attacking from the E. The archaeological evidence also confirms the biblical statement that Jericho was rebuilt in the time of Ahab.

1. *was straitly shut up*] See marg., and cf. Jud. ix. 51; Targ. "Jericho was shut up with gates of iron and barricaded with bolts of brass." The LXX. om. *because of the children of Israel*: probably a gloss.

2. *See, I have given into thine hand*] Cf. viii. 1 RD, Dt. ii. 24. The touch of RD may be discerned in this verse.

and the mighty men of valour] There is no *and* in the Hebr.; nor can the words be in apposition to *the king thereof*; either they are an addition, or something has fallen out of the text. The expression is generally used of Israel's fighting men, i. 14, viii. 3, x. 7.

3. *And ye shall compass the city*] J's version (*a*) begins. It must be remembered that the old cities of Palestine were small in circumference, and Jericho was no exception. The excavations have shewn that the double inner wall measured c. 656 yards in circumference, and enclosed an area only a little larger than that of the Colosseum at Rome, of which the circumference measures 573 yards; the great outer wall is c. 850 yards round.

all the men of war] though defensible grammatically, looks like

[1] Prof. Sellin believes that this was marked by the building of the splendid wall which encircled the double wall of the Canaanite city. The excavators at first believed that this outer wall belonged to the Canaanite period; but in their large volume they have changed their minds. Their earlier opinion is preferred by most archaeologists. See further on *v.* 20.

war, going about the city once. Thus shalt thou do six *J*
4 days. | And seven priests shall bear seven [1]trumpets of *E*
rams' horns before the ark: and the seventh day ye shall
compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow
5 with the trumpets. And it shall be, that when they make
a long blast with the ram's horn, and when ye hear the
sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a
great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down
[2]flat, and the people shall go up every man straight
6 before him. And Joshua the son of Nun called the
priests, and said unto them, Take up the ark of the
covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of

[1] Or, *jubile trumpets* [2] Heb. *in its place.*

an addition. After these words the LXX. omits the rest of the verse and all *v.* 4; see above, p. 41.

4. *And seven priests*] From the second version (*b*); its proper beginning has been cut out.

trumpets of rams' horns] Lit. **horns of rams.** The marg. is misleading; the Hebr. (and Phoenician) word *jubile* simply means *ram.* It is better to keep *horn* for the Hebr. *shōphār*; the *trumpet* (Hebr. *ḥaṣōṣĕrah*) is a metal instrument. The *shōphār* sounded the alarm for battle, Jud. iii. 27, vii. 16, 20: it was also used, as it is still in the Synagogue, for ceremonial purposes, Lev. xxv. 9, Joel ii. 15.

the seventh day] This detail agrees with (*a*), which extends the action over seven days; it has been introduced into (*b*), which implies that the seven circuits took place on one day, in order to harmonize the two accounts. A similar insertion appears in *v.* 15. The number *seven*, whether applied to the priests or to the horns or to the circuits or to the days, was evidently a fixed element in the tradition.

shall blow with the **horns**] i.e. when the moment comes to give the signal; so we may infer from *vv.* 5 *when ye hear the sound of the horn*, 16 *a*, 20 *b*. The Hebr. word for *blow* indicates a succession of sharp notes.

5. *when they make a long blast with the ram's horn*] This is difficult to reconcile with the passages quoted in the last note. The expression seems to have been introduced here from Ex. xix. 13 *when the ram('s horn) makes a long blast*; thus it forms a doublet with *when ye hear the sound of the horn*, which, as it comes again in *v.* 20 *b*, must be regarded as the more original of the two. The LXX. gives merely *when ye blow with the trumpet.*

6. Jehovah's instructions *vv.* 4, 5 are here repeated by Joshua to the priests, and the ark is brought into the narrative, as in the

J rams' horns before the ark of the LORD. | And [1]they said 7
E unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city, | and let
the armed men pass on before the ark of the LORD. And 8
it was so, that when Joshua had spoken unto the people,
the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams'
* horns before the LORD passed on, | and blew with the
J trumpets: | and the ark of the covenant of the LORD
followed them. And the armed men went before the 9
priests that blew the trumpets, and the rearward went
* after the ark, | *the priests* blowing with the trumpets as
J they went. | And Joshua commanded the people, saying, 10

[1] Another reading is, *he*.

account of the crossing of the Jordan, cf. iii. 6 E. For the two designations of the ark see on iii. 3.

7. *And they said*] The reading noticed in the marg. is to be preferred: Joshua speaks to the *people*, as in *vv.* 10, 16*b* J. This verse, down to *compass the city*, continues *v.* 3 J = (*a*).

the armed men] Cf. *vv.* 9, 13, Hebr. *ḥālūṣ* = *equipped*; see on iv. 13, and cf. i. 14 *n*. This sentence continues (*b*) in *v.* 6. The *armed men*, like the *rearward* (*v.* 9), would be picked warriors to form a bodyguard.

8. *that when Joshua had spoken unto the people*] In the LXX. these words are not found, and *vv.* 8, 9 continue Joshua's directions. Probably the LXX. here represents the original more faithfully than the present Hebr. text, in which imperatives (*pass on, blow, follow*) have been turned into narrative tenses, and the above words inserted. The consequence is that we now have two sets of narrative verses, *vv.* 8, 9 and *v.* 13, both saying the same thing.

before the LORD] i.e. before the ark, the visible sign of Jehovah's presence; cf. the ancient form in which the ark was addressed, Num. x. 35.

and blew with the **horns**] An addition made by the reviser who has introduced the continual horn-blowing in *vv.* 9, 13; this would defeat the very purpose for which the horns were carried. Hebraists will notice the construction of *and blew* after *passed on* (perf.): it points to a later hand.

9. *And the armed men went*] Originally no doubt *And let the armed men go*, and so on, as in the LXX.

the priests *blowing*] Here and in *v.* 13 the R.V. has inserted *the priests*; the Hebr. in both places makes *the rearward* (cf. Num. x. 25 P, Is. lii. 12) blow the horns as they go along. The LXX. identifies the priests with the rearward, but the Gk. text both here and in *v.* 13 is uncertain and corrupt.

10. Now we return to account (*a*), which enjoins silence

Ye shall not shout, nor let your voice be heard, neither *J*
shall any word proceed out of your mouth, until the day
11 I bid you shout; then shall ye shout. So he caused the
ark of the LORD to compass the city, going about it once:
and they came into the camp, and lodged in the camp.
12 And Joshua rose early in the morning, | and the priests *E*
13 took up the ark of the LORD. And the seven priests
bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the
ark of the LORD went on continually, and blew with the *
trumpets: | and the armed men went before them; and *E*
the rearward came after the ark of the LORD, *the priests* *
14 blowing with the trumpets as they went. | And the second *J*
day they compassed the city once, and returned into the
15 camp: so they did six days. And it came to pass on the
seventh day, that they rose early at the dawning of the
day, and compassed the city after the same manner
seven times: only on that day they compassed the city *
16 seven times. | And it came to pass at the seventh time, *E*

during the seven days' march round the walls; the priests do not appear; Joshua speaks to *the people*, as in *v.* 16 *b*.

11. *So he caused the ark of the* LORD *to compass the city*] The ark is not mentioned again in (*a*); moreover in the second half of this verse the verb is plural (*they came*), and elsewhere in the narrative *compass* has a plur. subject (*vv.* 7, 14, 15). The text has probably been altered so as to bring in the ark: originally it read *So they compassed the city*; thus (*a*) becomes consistent.

and lodged in the camp] Cf iii. 1, iv. 3.

12. *Joshua rose early in the morning*] Cf. iii. 1 *n*.

and the priests took up the ark] Narrative (*b*), describing how Joshua's orders in *vv.* 7 *b*—9 (according to the original form of the text) were carried out.

13. Again we have the insertions noted above on *vv.* 8, 9.

14. From account (*a*), continuing *v.* 11. The readings of the LXX. cod. B and cod. A and Lucian differ considerably from one another and from the M.T. in *vv.* 13, 14. For an attempt to recover the original LXX. see Holmes, *Joshua*, pp. 34 ff.

15. *they rose early at the dawning of the day*] Cf. *v.* 12 and Gen. xix. 15, xxxii. 24, 26 [25, 27] J, 1 Sam. ix. 26. Among the ancient Arabs too it was the custom to attack a city by night or in the early morning hours (G. Jacob, *Altarabische Parallelen*, p. 14, quoted by Holzinger); cf. Jud. ix. 32 f.

seven times...seven times] An editorial attempt to make the two accounts agree; cf. on *v.* 4 and p. 40. For *only* see i. 17 *n*.

J when the priests blew with the trumpets, | Joshua said
unto the people, Shout; for the LORD hath given you the
city. And the city shall be devoted, even it and all 17
that is therein, to the LORD: only Rahab the harlot
shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, |
RD because she hid the messengers that we sent. | And ye, 18
in any wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest
when ye have devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing;
so should ye make the camp of Israel [1]accursed, and
RP trouble it. | But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of 19

[1] Heb. *devoted.*

Seven times round the great outer wall (c. 850 yards) would measure about 3½ miles.

16. that *the priests blew*] The first half of the verse comes from (*b*), and is continued in *v.* 20 *b*: the *priests* give the signal with the horns, and the people shout.

Joshua said] **And** *Joshua said*, continuing *v.* 15 *a*: here, in the (*a*) account, *Joshua* gives the signal and speaks to the *people*, cf. *v.* 7 *n.*

17. *devoted*] Lit. *a devoted thing*, Hebr. *hérem*. Anything which might endanger the religious life of the community was put out of harm's way by being *prohibited* to human use; to secure this effectively it must be totally destroyed; cf. vii. 1, 12, 24 f., Dt. xiii. 15—17. The idolatrous city of Jericho was to be thus treated, and the heathen population of the land, x. 1, 28, xi. 11, Dt. xx. 17; cf. Lev. xxvii. 28 *every hérem is a holy of holies unto Jehovah*. The practice originated in the ancient principle of taboo: the *hérem* was something inviolable, consecrated in the sense of being protected by divine sanctions from common use; thus the Arabic *ḥarām* = *sanctuary*, *ḥarīm* = *the women's quarters*. See *Judges*, C.B., p. 12 f.

shall live] Cf. *v.* 25 *save alive*, from the same account (*a*).

because she hid...sent] LXX. omits; both here and in *v.* 25 the words are probably editorial additions. The spies were not *messengers*.

18. *lest when ye have devoted it, ye take*] The Hebr. says *lest ye devote it and take*, an unlikely expression. The LXX. points to the true reading, *lest ye covet it and take*, involving a slight change in the Hebr.; and we thus obtain a more distinct preparation for the story in ch. vii. With *covet* cf. vii. 21, and with *trouble it* cf. vii. 25. RD begins the verse with the particle which so often marks an insertion, *but only* (*in any wise* obscures the point), cf. on *v.* 15 *b*.

19. A further expansion of RD by RP: *holy unto the LORD*,

brass and iron, are holy unto the LORD: they shall *RP*
20 come into the treasury of the LORD. | So the people *J*
shouted, | and *the priests* blew with the trumpets: | and it * *E*
came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the
trumpet, that the people shouted with a great shout,
and the wall fell down [1]flat, so that the people went up
into the city, every man straight before him, | and they *J*
21 took the city. And they [2]utterly destroyed all that was

[1] Heb. *in its place.* [2] Heb. *devoted.*

fifteen times in P; *the treasury of the* LORD, in *v.* 24 *b* *the treasury of the house of the* LORD (also RP), implies the existence of the temple and the arrangements of the post-exilic church. The direction does not follow the law given by P in Num. xxxi. 21—23, which requires that spoil of metal be passed through fire before it be dedicated to the sanctuary; elsewhere in Josh. the glosses of RP shew variations from the standard of P, indicating the later practice or opinions of the Priestly school. That *iron* was in use among the Canaanites is a not improbable inference from such a phrase as *chariots of iron*[1]; see *Judges*, C.B., p. 14. No ornaments or weapons of metal belonging to the Canaanite period were discovered in the recent excavations, but only pottery: the city must have been thoroughly plundered (Sellin, *Jericho*, p. 181).

20 *a*. *So the people shouted*] Continuing *vv.* 16 *b*, 17, from (*a*). The *people*, as in *vv.* 7 *a*, 10, 16 *b*, are the warriors taking part in the attack, not the general multitude.

and the priests *blew with the* **horns**] merely repeats *v.* 16 *a*; the words have been inserted to pick up the thread of the narrative (*b*), without providing a subject for *blew*. As it stands, the text speaks of a shout, the signal, and then the shout again: but when once the sources are distinguished all becomes intelligible.

b. *heard the sound of the* **horn**] Cf. on *v.* 5. How is the single horn to be reconciled with the seven horns which the priests carry (*vv.* 4, 6, 8, 13) for the purpose of sounding this very signal, as it appears? The seven horns must be due to the process of enrichment which the narrative has undergone—the single horn, the seven horns, the continual blowing of the horns.

c. *and they took the city*] Continuing *So the people shouted* from (*a*).

[1] Two small lumps of iron found at Gezer in the tunnel which was excavated not later than c. 2000 B.C., and abandoned between c. 1400 and 1200 B.C., offer the earliest evidence of the use of iron in Palestine. Macalister, *P.E.F.Qtly.St.* 1908, p. 101.

J in the city, both man and woman, both young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword. |
E And Joshua said unto the two men that had spied out 22
the land, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that she hath, as ye sware unto her.
And the young men the spies went in, and brought out 23
Rahab, and her father, and her mother, and her brethren,

It is clear from the excavations that the two inner walls of the city were destroyed on the E. and S. sides; on the other sides they remain more or less intact. These inner walls are of double formation, and originally, it is supposed, ran parallel to each other round the site in a circuit of about 656 yards: the main wall, some 10½—12 ft thick, is protected by another wall a few feet in front, about 4½—5 ft thick; both are built of sun-dried brick resting on masonry, with a foundation of irregularly laid unhewn stones. Beyond this double wall, the excavations have uncovered part of the great outer wall, of immense strength and skilfully constructed with a foundation, a bulging glacis of stone, and a perpendicular brick wall above. It measured some 850 yards round, making the city thus enclosed about a third larger than the space within the double wall. In their first reports the excavators recognized this outer wall as Canaanite work, but in their completed volume they assign it to the Israelite period, and regard it as the building of Hiel. Archaeologists, however, have not been convinced by the arguments which led to this change of view, and maintain that the outer wall is of Canaanite origin. See Vincent, *Revue Bibl.* 1913, pp. 450—458; Handcock, *Archaeology of the Holy Land*, 1916, pp. 83 ff., who discusses the question in detail, and gives plans based on those of Sellin and Watzinger[1].

The enemy who attacked the city came not from the N., where the fortifications were strongest and still remain in part, but from the E. and S., where the walls have been breached. Prof. Sellin is careful to point out that no traces of earthquake were discovered.

21. From account (*a*); cf. viii. 25 JE, Gen. xix. 4, xxxiv. 26 J, 1 S. xv. 3. This is what the *ban* (*hérem*) involved.

22. *the two men*] From account (*b*); cf. ii. 1. *as ye sware unto her* cf. ii. 17; LXX. om.

23. Continues the narrative of Rahab's deliverance according to (*b*); cf. ii. 13.

[1] See also Driver, l.c. p. 91 f.; S. A. Cook, *Q.St.* 1910, pp. 54—68, a valuable discussion; Vincent, *Revue Bibl.* 1910, pp. 404—417, with plan and photographs; Handcock, *The Latest Light on Bible Lands*, 1913, pp. 230—236.

and all that she had, all her [1]kindred also they brought *E*
24 out; and they set them without the camp of Israel. And
they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein:
only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of *RP*
iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the LORD.
25 But Rahab the harlot, and her father's household, and *J*
all that she had, did Joshua save alive; and she dwelt
in the midst of Israel, unto this day; because she hid the
26 messengers, which Joshua sent to spy out Jericho. And

[1] Heb. *families*.

and *all her* **families**...*without the camp of Israel*] An addition made by the school of P, to judge from the word *families*, and the removal of the Canaanites beyond the camp as unclean (cf. Lev. xi. 4, xiii. 46, Num. v. 3, xxxi. 19 P): the Priestly annotator was determined to exclude the kindred of Rahab from full membership of the Israelite community. But there may lurk a piece of tribal history behind the remark; *families* includes more than immediate relatives; perhaps in later times a number of families forming a clan had settled among the Israelites in the neighbourhood of Gilgal, "outside the camp." Sellin detects in the story of Rahab an attempt to explain how it was that this Rahab-tribe escaped when the rest of the inhabitants of Jericho were put to death.

24. *they burnt the city with fire*] On the W. side of the inner wall, where it has been uncovered, the excavators found that the brick-work shewed the effects of a fierce fire, due no doubt to the burning of wooden buildings on or between the walls (*Jericho*, p. 29). But there was no evidence of the systematic burning of the whole city.

The last half of the *v.* comes from RP, cf. on *v.* 19; the temple treasury is mentioned again only in 1 C. xxix. 8. The LXX., Pesh., Vulg. omit *of the house*, perhaps to harmonize with *v.* 19, where the Hebr. also omits the word; cf. ix. 23.

25. The second account of the deliverance of Rahab (*a*). With *did...save alive* cf. *shall live v.* 17 and ii. 13 *n.*

and she dwelt in the midst of Israel] Cf. ix. 7, xiii. 13, xvi. 10 J. These passages refer to Canaanites who remained in their native places after the Israelite occupation; but the descendants of Rahab seem to have been adopted into the community (contrast *v.* 23), at any rate Hebr. tradition made her an ancestress of David; see on ii. 1.

because...Jericho] Cf. *v.* 17 *n.* For *messengers* the LXX. reads *spies*.

J Joshua charged them with an oath at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the LORD, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of

26. *charged them with an oath*] Lit. *made* (*them*) *swear*: Joshua uttered the oath, and the people ratified it with an Amen. In ancient times it was considered a sacrilege to rebuild a city or house which had been solemnly cursed or laid under a ban; cf. Job xv. 28, Dt. xiii. 15, 16; after the destruction of Troy and Carthage, the sites were debarred, under religious sanctions, from human habitation (Strabo xiii. i. 41 f.; Appian, *Punica*, 135). Accordingly Joshua declares that disaster will befall the man who rebuilds Jericho at the beginning and end of his impious task. The curse is poetical in form, as the parallelism shews; with *the eldest* and *the youngest* cf. Gen. xxix. 26, xlviii. 14 J. The word *Jericho*, which spoils the rhythm, is omitted by the LXX.; it may have crept in when this four-lined verse became current as a popular saying.

We need not conclude from the passage that Jericho remained an uninhabited ruin after its capture. Even in this book it is referred to as a boundary city, xvi. 1, 7, xviii. 12, 21; "the city of palm trees," according to Jud. i. 16, iii. 13, was occupied by the Kenites and by Eglon king of Moab; David's servants could use it as a place of residence, 2 S. x. 5. We may suppose, therefore, that it continued to be inhabited, but as an unwalled, or partially walled, town till the days of Ahab. The recent exploration of the site confirms this conclusion from the literary evidence: it shews that not long after the destruction of the walls on the E. and S. (see on *v.* 20), a new settlement followed, still mainly Canaanite in character; the pottery of the twelfth and eleventh cents., found over the whole area, reveals no marked change from the earlier types.

Then in the first half of the ninth cent., and just before the outbreak of the war with Moab towards the end of Ahab's reign (see Moab. St. ll. 7 ff.), the book of Kings mentions the rebuilding of Jericho by Hiel the Bethelite and the fulfilment of Joshua's curse, 1 K. xvi. 34. The word *build* in both passages can well mean *fortify* or *repair* (e.g. 1 K. xv. 17, 22 etc.), but *laid the foundation thereof* implies the founding of an altogether new city: this expression, however, which is not strictly applicable to Hiel's undertaking, may have been taken over from the popular saying traditionally placed in the mouth of Joshua. While the work of fortification was going on some misfortune befell the builder, and the old saying was remembered and applied to him. It has been supposed that *at the cost of his eldest shall he lay the foundation thereof* etc. refers to the custom of sacrificing a human victim

27 his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it. | So the *RD* LORD was with Joshua; and his fame was in all the land. |
7 But the children of Israel committed a trespass in the *RP* devoted thing: for Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took of the

when the foundations of an important building were laid; we cannot feel sure, however, that any such allusion is intended. For "the curse implies that something unusual and unexpected would happen to the man who rebuilt Jericho. But if a foundation-sacrifice was a custom of the time, there would be nothing unusual about it" (Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 72). The LXX. records the fulfilment here as well as in 1 K. xvi. 34.

27. A final touch by RD, like that in *v.* 1 which properly closes ch. iv.; cf. i. 5 *n.*, ii. 10 *n.*, ix. 9.

b. The capture of Ai, ch. vii. 1—viii. 29.

The first attempt and Achan's sin, ch. vii.

The first attempt to capture Ai ends in disaster, due to a breach of the command to devote the spoils of Jericho to complete destruction; some one had been guilty of theft. Achan the culprit is discovered by means of the sacred lot, and is punished with all his belongings. The story serves to account for the name of a valley leading up from the plain of Jericho to the Central Highlands: it was called Achor = *trouble*.

As a whole the ch. seems to come from J, expanded in places by RP *vv.* 1, 18 *b*, 24 *a*, 25 *b* (in part), and by RD *vv.* 5 *b*, 7 *b*, 11, 12 *b*, 15 *b*, 25 *b* (in part). Signs of a double narrative have been detected in *vv.* 21—23, pointing to slightly different versions of the story; note the plur. mas. in *vv.* 21 and 23, *they are hid, took them* (mantle, silver, gold), as compared with *it was hid, under it* (mantle, silver) in *v.* 22. Again, in *vv.* 25 *a*, 26 Achan alone is the sufferer, *all Israel stoned him, they raised over him*, while *v.* 24 mentions Achan's family and possessions, and *v.* 25 *b* accordingly reads *they burned them with fire and stoned them*: here the inconsistencies may be due to later editorial handling.

1. *committed a trespass*] Cf. xxii. 16, 20, 31 P, a phrase characteristic of the later literature, e.g. P, Lev. v. 15 etc. and Ezek. (xiv. 13 + six times), Chr., Ezr. Usage shews that *treachery* is what the noun and the cognate verb mean.

in the devoted thing] For the *hérem* see on vi. 17, 18, 21. The spoils once made over to God were inviolable; and since the command to treat them in this way was laid upon the whole people, Israel as a whole was involved in the transgression.

Achan] LXX., Pesh., *Achar*; so 1 C. ii. 7, and Josephus, in accordance with the frequent interchange of *n* and *r* (cf.

R^D devoted thing: and the anger of the LORD was kindled against the children of Israel. |

J And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which is 2
beside Beth-aven, on the east side of Beth-el, and spake unto them, saying, Go up and spy out the land. And the men went up and spied out Ai. And they returned 3
to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; make not all the people to toil thither; for they are but few. So there went up thither of the people about 4
three thousand men: and they fled before the men of Ai. And the men of Ai smote of them about thirty and six 5
men: and they chased them *from* before the gate even

ben and *bar* = *son*), but also to bring the name into closer connexion with *'Achor*, *'achar* = *trouble*, *vv.* 24 f. See also *v.* 18 *n.*

2. *Ai, which is beside Beth-aven*] Ai (to be pronounced as a monosyllable) lay to the east of, or beside Bethel (xii. 9, Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3), but its exact position is unknown. It stood above the side of the valley (viii. 11), and probably near the modern village of Dēr Dīwān (about three miles S.E. of Bethel), either just to the N. at et-Tell, or a little to the S. at Khirbet Ḥayyān, and commanded the direct ascent from Jericho to Bethel. Ai (always with the art., *hā-'ai*) is no doubt the same as Aiath (Is. x. 28), and Aija (Neh. xi. 31), inhabited by Benjamites after the exile.

The LXX. omits several phrases in this verse, and among them *Beth-aven, on the east side of*. Hence these words have been regarded as a gloss on *which is beside Bethel* (LXX.), added by a reader or scribe who recalled the opprobrious name which the prophets gave to Bethel, Beth-*aven* = house of *idolatry* (Am. v. 5, Hos. iv. 15 etc.). But a Beth-aven in this neighbourhood is mentioned in xviii. 12, 1 Sam. xiii. 5, xiv. 23, though its exact position cannot be discovered; perhaps the town was early destroyed, and its fate gave all the more point to the prophets' mocking sobriquet of its neighbour.

Beth-el] The modern Beitin, 2890 feet above the sea, 12 miles N. of Jerusalem, on one of the main roads to the N. It was an ancient sanctuary of the Canaanites (cf. Gen. xxviii., xxxv.), which was taken over by the Israelites (Jud. i. 22 ff., ii. 1 LXX., xx. 18, 26, xxi. 2, 1 S. x. 3 etc.), and became, under the monarchy, the chief religious centre of the northern kingdom (Am., Hos. etc.).

spy out the land] Cf. ii. 1, vi. 22 f., Num. xxi. 32 etc.

unto [1]Shebarim and smote them at the going down: , *J*
and the hearts of the people melted, and became as water. | *RD*
6 And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon *J*
his face before the ark of the LORD until the evening, he
and the elders of Israel; and they put dust upon their
7 heads. And Joshua said, Alas, O Lord GOD, wherefore
hast thou at all brought this people over Jordan, | to *RD*
deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to cause us to
perish? | would that we had been content and dwelt *J*
8 beyond Jordan! Oh Lord, what shall I say, after that
Israel hath turned their backs before their enemies!
9 For the Canaanites and all the inhabitants of the land

[1] Or, *the quarries*

5. *even unto Shebarim*] The marg. is preferable, for *shebārim* (= *broken pieces*) has the article. The thirty-six were killed in the first encounter; *and they chased them* must refer to the rest of the Israelites, who were smitten *at the descent* to the Jordan valley up which they had come. The LXX. (omitting *and smote them*), Pesh., Targ., imply the reading "until they were broken in pieces," pronouncing *shebārim* differently; but this does not agree so well with *pursued them*. The M.T. is to be preferred.

the hearts...melted...water] A comment by RD; see on ii. 11.

6. *rent his clothes, and fell to the earth*] Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 34, xliv. 13 J, 2 S. i. 11, xii. 16, xiii. 31, 2 K. xix. 1 etc.: both grief and penitence were expressed in the same way. Joshua acknowledges that the misfortune had been caused by some offence.

before the ark of the LORD] The LXX. omits *the ark of*, as in vi. 7. Perhaps *the ark* was introduced for greater reverence.

he and the elders of Israel] Cf. viii. 10 JE, Ex. iii. 18 J. In what follows Joshua seems to be alone.

dust upon their heads] A sign of mourning. cf. Job ii. 12.

7. The prayer of the nation's leader strikes us as poor-spirited; elsewhere a complaint of this kind is put into the lips of the faithless people, Ex. xiv. 11 f., Num. xiv. 2 f., xx. 3 ff. Yet Moses uttered a similar expostulation more than once, Ex. v. 22 f., Num. xi. 11—15; it marks the depth of the people's depression after their first reverse.

The language at the end of cl. *a* has a Dtc. colouring: *to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites* = Dt. i. 27 (contrast *the Canaanites* in *v.* 9); *to cause us to perish* cf. Dt. vii. 10, 24 etc.

8. *what shall I say*] See Gen. xliv. 16.

9. *the Canaanites*] J's name for the natives of Palestine,

J shall hear of it, and shall compass us round, and cut off
our name from the earth: and what wilt thou do for thy
great name? And the LORD said unto Joshua, Get thee 10
up; wherefore art thou thus fallen upon thy face?
RD Israel hath sinned; | yea, they have even transgressed 11
J my covenant which I commanded them: | yea, they have
RD even taken of the devoted thing; | and have also stolen,
J and dissembled also, | and they have even put it among
their own stuff. Therefore the children of Israel cannot 12
stand before their enemies, they turn their backs before
RD their enemies, because they are become accursed: | I will

e.g. xvi. 10, xvii. 12—18; E and D call them *Amorites*, e.g. x. 5, xxiv. 15.

what wilt thou do for thy great name?] to prevent it being dishonoured; for Israel's defeat would convince the nations that its God was impotent. The appeal to Jehovah's sense of His own honour, strange as it sounds to us, was in accordance with ancient ideas, which regarded the tribal deity as involved in the fortunes of his people; cf. Ex. xxxii. 11 f., Num. xiv. 13—17 RJE, Dt. ix. 28. Here Jehovah's *name* denotes His reputation among the nations; *my great name* occurs in Jer. xliv. 26, Ezek. xxxvi. 23, 1 S. xii. 22, but in the larger sense of His character as revealed in Israel.

10. *Get thee up*] God will deal with man erect, in the attitude of a responsible being; cf. Ezek. ii. 1, Dan. x. 11.

11. *Israel hath sinned*] The indictment mounts up from the general to the particular, with cumulative effect; each accusation begins with *yea, they have even* (lit. *and also*), repeated five times (in the Hebr., unfortunately not reproduced in the EV.). The LXX. omits the third and fourth of these short clauses; perhaps they are later additions.

transgressed my covenant which I commanded them] A Dtc. idea: the covenant inaugurated at Sinai imposed obligations which might be called commands. Hence Jehovah could be said to command, and Israel to transgress, the covenant, i.e. the obligations involved in it; cf. xxiii. 16 RD, Dt. xvii. 2, Jud. ii. 20, 2 K. xviii. 12, Jer. xxxiv. 18, Ps. cxi. 9. Accordingly in Dt. iv. 13 the covenant is identified with the decalogue, and in *ib.* v. 2, 3, 6 ff. the one is expounded in the terms of the other, cf. iii. 3 *n.*

the devoted thing] See on vi. 17, 18.

12. *they are become accursed*] Here, as in vi. 18, we should keep to the rendering **a devoted thing**. There was a contagion in the *hérem* which infected the whole community.

not be with you any more, except ye destroy the devoted *RD*
13 thing from among you. | Up, sanctify the people, and *J*
say, Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: for thus
saith the LORD, the God of Israel, There is a devoted
thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand
before thine enemies, until ye take away the devoted
14 thing from among you. In the morning therefore ye
shall be brought near by your tribes: and it shall be,
that the tribe which the LORD taketh shall come near by
families; and the family which the LORD shall take
shall come near by households; and the household which
15 the LORD shall take shall come near man by man. And

I will not be with you...except ye destroy] The sudden address to the people in the middle of Jehovah's discourse to Joshua suggests the intervention of another writer; the language points to RD: for *I will not be with you* see i. 5 *n.*; the word for *destroy* is specially common in Dt. and in the Dtc. passages of this book.

13. *sanctify the people*] with the appropriate rite, which probably meant offering a sacrifice; the people would sanctify themselves by ablutions and avoiding ceremonial uncleanness; cf. Ex. xix. 10 E, and see on iii. 5.

Jehovah, *the God of Israel*] A title which occurs frequently in Josh. (fifteen times), and in the historical books: its repeated use seems to be due to "later scribal preference," rather than to any particular school (C.-H.). In the Pentateuch it occurs only in Ex. v. 1, xxxii. 27 E.

14. The directions indicate an ordeal by lot, which normally took place at a sanctuary and was conducted by a priest with religious ceremonies; hence the command, *sanctify yourselves*; and note the technical terms *be brought, come near*, i.e. be presented before Jehovah, cf. Ex. xxii. 8 [7], 1 Sam. x. 20 f., and *shall take*, cf. 1 S. l.c., xiv. 41 f. We may gather from Num. xvii. 7 ff. that the lots would be inscribed with the names of those concerned; the decision was regarded as the voice of Jehovah Himself, cf. Prov. xvi. 33.

The organization of the people by the tribe (*shēbet*), the family (*mishpāḥāh*), the father's house (*bēth-ab*), males (*gebārīm*), corresponds with what we find elsewhere in ancient society; thus in Greece the members of the land-owning class belonged to a family (*gĕnos*), which formed part of a clan (*phratra* = Lat. *curia*), which again went to make up a tribe (*phyle* = Lat. *tribus*)[1]. But the full organization here described belongs rather to the age of the narrator (J) than to the age of the conquest;

[1] See Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, 431 f.

J it shall be, that he that is taken with the devoted thing
R_D shall be burnt with fire, he and all that he hath: | because
he hath transgressed the covenant of the LORD, and
because he hath wrought folly in Israel. |
J So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought 16
Israel near by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was
taken: and he brought near the [1]family of Judah; and 17
he took the family of the Zerahites: and he brought
near the family of the Zerahites [2]man by man; and Zabdi
was taken: and he brought near his household man by 18
R_P man; and Achan, | the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi,
J the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, | was taken. And 19

[1] According to some ancient authorities, *families*.
[2] According to some ancient authorities, *by households*.

for example, in the old story, Jud. xvii. 7, Judah is still only a *mishpāḥāh* or family, and has not yet reached its full status. At this period Israel was a loose federation of kindred tribes bound together by race and religion (see Jud. i. and v.): the early sources lead us to think of the tribes slowly growing into a nation, not of a nation organized into tribes.

15. *shall be burnt with fire*] The man found in possession of the *ḥérem* is to be treated in the same way as the *ḥérem* itself; see vi. 24 *a*, Dt. xiii. 15, 16.

he hath wrought folly in Israel] Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 7 J, Dt. xxii. 21. The rendering *folly* does not do justice to the deep reprobation implied by the Hebr. *nebālāh*, which stands for moral insensibility, a repudiation of the claims of morality and religion, sometimes an outrage against the laws of nature (e.g. Jud. xix. 23).

16. *rose up early in the morning*] See iii. 1 *n*.

17. *the family of Judah*] Some MSS. read *families*; the LXX. and Vulg. also give the plural. But it is better to read *the tribe*, as the context requires; the M.T. is merely a slip on the part of a scribe.

man by man] Again an error for *by houses*, which is read by some MSS., Pesh., Vulg. The LXX. considerably abbreviates this verse and the next.

18. *son of Zabdi...tribe of Judah*] Here and in *v.* 1 the LXX. has Zimri for Zabdi, probably taking the form from 1 Chr. ii. 6, where, however, Zimri is merely a phonetic variant of Zabdi. The genealogy of Achan is reproduced from *v.* 1; in both places P's regular word for *tribe* (*maṭṭeh*), which came into literary use after the exile, is substituted for *shēbeṭ*, the word used in *vv.* 14, 16, and always in JE and D (only occasionally in P or RP).

Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory *J*
to the LORD, the God of Israel, and [1]make confession
unto him; and tell me now what thou hast done; hide
20 it not from me. And Achan answered Joshua, and said,
Of a truth I have sinned against the LORD, the God of
21 Israel, and thus and thus have I done: when I saw
among the spoil a goodly [2]Babylonish mantle, and two

[1] Or, *give praise* [2] Heb. *mantle of Shinar.*

19. Joshua begins his exhortation to the culprit with a word of encouragement (cf. Lk. xvi. 25, Mt. xxii. 12). First and foremost let God be praised: He is all-seeing, and has brought the secret to light; He is perfectly just, and has shewn that the defeat was due, not to any failure on His part, but to Israel's sin.

With **render now** *glory to the* LORD cf. Is. xlii. 12, Ps. lxvi. 2 *b* (also Jn. ix. 24); and with **give praise** *unto him* cf. Ezr. x. 11—all late passages. Instead of *praise, thanksgiving*, the usual meaning of the word (e.g. Ps. xlii. 4, l. 14, 23, Is. li. 3 etc.), the R.V. renders *confession* here and in Ezr. l.c., because an acknowledgement of sin follows. But it is better to keep to the usual rendering. In this connexion *praise* may possibly be explained as the utterance of that trust and love which lead the penitent to throw himself upon the mercies of God, and confess his sin (Ryle, *Ezr. and Neh.*, p. 133); such an idea, however, is too subtle for the present context. Thanksgiving and confession are two different things, and the former is meant here.

For **Jehovah** *the God of Israel* see on *v.* 13.

20. *Of a truth*] The adverb only again in Gen. xx. 12 E.

and thus and thus] An idiomatic way of prefacing a speech; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 15, 2 Kings v. 4 (the speech not given, but implied), ix. 12.

21. *a goodly Babylonish mantle*] See margin. Shinar was the old Heb. name for Babylonia (Gen. x. 10, xi. 2, xiv. 1, 9 etc.; in Zech. v. 11 rendered *Babylon* by the LXX.), called in later times "the land of the Chaldeans" or "Babel." Authorities are not agreed upon the Bab. equivalent of Shinar; perhaps there is most to be said in favour of *Sumer*, often mentioned in the phrase "Sumer and Akkad," i.e. S. and N. Babylonia. The interesting thing about the *goodly mantle of Shinar* is that it bears witness to the influence of Babylonia upon the civilization of pre-Israelite Canaan. How powerful this was we learn from the Amarna letters, which belong to the period probably just before the Israelite invasion; they contain several references to the rich trade between Babylonia and Egypt, and mention the Babylonian merchants, who were apt to be robbed on their way through Canaan (e.g. no. 11, 13 ff.). The word for *mantle* (*'addéreth*) is

J hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty
shekels weight, then I coveted them, and took them;
and, behold, they are hid in the earth in the midst of my
tent, and the silver under it. So Joshua sent messengers, 22
and they ran unto the tent; and, behold, it was hid in
his tent, and the silver under it. And they took them 23
from the midst of the tent, and brought them unto
Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel; and they laid

used elsewhere of a coarse hairy garment (Gen. xxv. 25 J), the characteristic garb of a prophet (1 K. xix 13, 19, 2 K. ii. 8, Zech. xiii. 4); but here, and in Jon. iii. 6, of a costly robe, such as priests and kings wear on Bab. sculptures and seals; it is sometimes plain and fringed, sometimes of quilted woollen stuff[1]. The LXX., not understanding *mantle of Shinar*, renders *variegated carpet*, omitting *goodly*; Vulg. pallium coccineum valde bonum.

two hundred shekels of silver] The reference is not to coined money, which did not come into use till the seventh cent. B.C., but to ingots or bars of silver of a fixed weight; this weight was sufficiently well known for ordinary purposes of exchange, but when a transaction required accuracy the ingots were weighed, e.g. Gen. xxiii. 15; *shaḳal = weigh*, hence *shekel = weight*. Taking the shekel as equivalent to 252 grs. tr., 200 shekels = $8\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. tr., and 50 shekels = $2\frac{1}{8}$ lbs. tr.; the values by the Babylonian standard would be in our money £40. 16*s.* 8*d.* and £10. 4*s.* 2*d.* respectively. See G. F. Hill's tables in *Ency. Bibl.*, col. 4443 f. But these weights and values are only approximate, as we do not know for certain what standards were in use.

a wedge] Lit. *a tongue*, i.e. a tongue-shaped wedge.

I coveted them] "On account of his trespass which he had committed, thirty-six righteous men died on his account (*v.* 5)"; *Pirḳē de R. Eliezer*, ch. xxxviii. Dante says that in Purgatory Achan is recalled as an example of avarice by the souls who are being purged from the same sin, *Purg.* xx. 109 f.

they are hid...under it] The words do not agree: *they are hid* is plur. mas., and refers to the mantle, the silver and the gold; *under it* is sing. fem., and refers to the mantle.

22. *it was hid...under it*] in agreement with the words at the end of *v.* 21; the reference is to the silver and the mantle. The *wedge of gold* seems to belong to a slightly different tradition, which can be recognized by the plur. mas. pronouns in *vv.* 21 and 23, *they are hid, took them, brought them, poured them out.*

23. *and unto all the children of Israel*] The LXX. has *and to the elders of Israel*, a more suitable expression; Joshua and the elders would be the natural persons to judge the case.

[1] See an illustration in Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 45.

24 them down before the LORD. And Joshua, | and all *RD*
Israel with him, | took Achan the son of Zerah, | and the *JE*
silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold, and his
sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses,
and his sheep, and his tent, | and all that he had: and *J*
25 they brought them up unto the valley of Achor. And

they laid them down] Hebr. **they poured them out**, the verb as in 2 K. iv. 5. With a trifling alteration the LXX. reads *set them down*; the change is certainly required in 2 S. xv. 24, where the EVV. have silently made it, but here it is not necessary. The meaning is, the valuables were solemnly made over to Jehovah, their rightful owner (vi. 19).

24. It is plain that the text of this *v.* has been expanded from a much simpler original. Thus the clause *and all Israel with him*, which in the EV. has been transferred for the sake of clearness to the beginning of the sentence, in the Hebr. stands at the end, after *all that he had*; the construction is so awkward, almost impossible, that we can only account for it by regarding the intervening words as an insertion, based probably on *v.* 15 *a*; *all Israel*, it may be noted, is a Dtc. expression, iii. 7 *n*. Originally, then, we may suppose that the verse ran "And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerah, and brought him (sing.) up unto the valley of Achor." This is what we actually find in the LXX.; but the Gk. text has been expanded so as to agree with the expanded M.T.; it continues *and his sons etc....and all his goods, and all the people with him; and he brought them up to the valley of Achor*, with the result that the last sentence occurs twice over, slightly varied, in the same verse! Further in the words *and the silver, and the mantle, and the wedge of gold* we have a still later addition to the M.T., later probably even than the LXX., for in the LXX. it does not appear at all; it is inconsistent with *v.* 23 *b*, which declares that the precious metals were not destroyed, but dedicated to Jehovah. Thus we infer that the original account told of the death of Achan only (cf. *stoned him v.* 25, *over him v.* 26); the aim of the interpolations, we may suppose, was to make Joshua comply with the regulations of the *ḥérem* in Dt. xiii. 15—17 [16—18], and, against the law of Dt. xxiv. 16, to secure that Achan should have no descendants to perpetuate his name.

the valley of Achor] Clearly a valley leading up from Jericho to the Central Highlands, perhaps the Wadi Tal'at ed-Dam; it is mentioned in xv. 7 as marking the northern boundary of Judah. The name had an ill-omened sound (see on *vv.* 25, 26); both Hos. ii. 15 [17] and Is. lxv. 10 imply that it was a desolate place, and promise that it will be transformed hereafter, and, as Isaiah says, become a place for herds to lie down in: this would be

J Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us? the LORD shall
RD trouble thee this day. | And all Israel stoned him with
RP stones; and they burned them with fire, | and stoned them
J with stones. | And they raised over him a great heap of 26
stones, unto this day; and the LORD turned from the
fierceness of his anger. Wherefore the name of that
place was called, The valley of [1]Achor, unto this day.

[1] That is, *Troubling*.

impossible in the rocky chasm of the W. el-Ḳelt, with which the valley is often identified (see on xv. 7).

25. *troubled us...trouble thee*] The word *'ācḥar* = *bring calamity* or *disaster upon a person* (vi. 18) is a strong one, used only under circumstances which arouse unusual passion, e.g. Gen. xxxiv. 30 J, Jud. xi. 35, 1 S. xiv. 29, 1 K. xviii. 17 f. It is chosen for the sake of the play on the names of the valley and the guilty man. The Rabbis paraphrase "This day thou art to be troubled, but thou art not to be troubled in the world to come": Achan had confessed, and so had expiated his crime, Talm. B. *San.* 44 *b*.

The text of the last half of the verse cannot be in its original form: as it stands, Achan is first stoned, then burnt, and then stoned again with all his belongings! The confusion is due to additions introduced by successive editors: first RD (note *all Israel*) ended the story with *stoned* (*sāḳal*) *them with stones* (in the plur.)—this is D's idiom, e.g. Dt. xiii. 10 [11] + three times; then RP added *stoned* (*rāgam*) *him with stones* (in the sing. coll.)—this is P's idiom, e.g. Lev. xx. 2, 27 + six times; lastly a scribe mixed these successive interpolations and produced the present disorder. The *burning* would be in accordance with Dt. xiii. 16 [17]; the LXX. omits it and the second stoning, the Pesh. and Vulg. omit the latter.

26. *raised over him a great heap of stones*] as a condemned criminal; similarly a heap of stones was raised over the king of Ai, and over Absalom, viii. 29 (cf. x. 27), 2 S. xviii. 17; an intentional dishonouring of the dead, perhaps with the idea of preventing a wicked man's spirit from escaping and doing harm. To this day the Arabs of the Sinaitic desert cast a stone on the grave of a generally execrated offender when they pass it. The verse implies that only Achan suffered; cf. on *v.* 24.

unto this day] See iv. 9 *n.*

turned from the fierceness of his anger] So Dt. xiii. 17 [18], after the destruction of the *ḥérem*.

the name...was called...Achor] In this, as in other ancient stories, a legend was attached to a place owing to the suggestiveness of its name; cf. v. 9 *n.*, Gen. xi. 9, xix. 22 J, Jud. ii. 5 etc.

8 And the LORD said unto Joshua, | Fear not, neither be *J R*
thou dismayed: | take all the people of war with thee, *J*
and arise, go up to Ai: | see, I have given into thy hand *R D*

As a rule the popular explanation was a play upon words, not an etymology in the strict sense. Here Achor was derived from the verb *'ākhar* (see on *v.* 25), and taken to mean *calamity, desolation*, whether rightly or wrongly we cannot tell.

It is only the interpolations noted on *vv.* 24, 25 which create the moral difficulty of a number of innocent persons suffering for one man's guilt. The original story knew nothing of this; but a later age felt bound to express its horror of Achan's sin, and its zeal for the law of Dt. xiii. 15 ff., by making additions to the narrative.

The capture of Ai, ch. viii. 1—29.

In the second attempt to capture Ai the Israelites resort to the device of an ambush and a feigned retreat, with complete success. The city is taken and burnt, and its inhabitants put to the sword; an ignominious death is inflicted upon the king.

The narrative has been pieced together from two main sources, which do not agree in detail. Thus, according to one account, in obedience to Joshua's orders 30,000 men go into ambush between Bethel and Ai, on the west of the latter (*v.* 9); while in the other, apparently on the next day Joshua stations 5000 men in exactly the same position (*v.* 12). Again, in *vv.* 16, 17 the Israelites, following the plan of attack laid down in *vv.* 3—9, make a feigned retreat; but in *v.* 15 (see note) there is no pretence about it, they are smitten and fly towards the wilderness. Once more, in *vv.* 21, 22 *Joshua and all Israel returned* when they saw the smoke rising from the city, *and smote the men of Ai*; on the other hand, in *vv.* 18, 24, 26 the Israelites rallied from their flight when Joshua held out his javelin, and after slaying *the inhabitants of Ai* who had chased them into the wilderness, *all Israel returned to Ai and smote it*, while Joshua held his javelin outstretched. Though the analysis is not quite certain at every point, we may assign *vv.* 1 *a* (partly), 2 *b*—11, 14, 16, 17, 19—23, 25, 29 J, and *vv.* 12, 15, 18, 24, 26 to E; *v.* 13 is an attempt to harmonize the two. The combined narrative has received additions mainly from the Dtc. redactor, whose hand reveals itself in *vv.* 1 *a* (partly), 1 *b*—2 *a*, 27, 28, and in various short phrases throughout.

1. *Fear not...dismayed*] A Dtc. phrase; cf. i. 9 *n.*, x. 25 R D, Dt. i. 21, xxxi. 8.

all the people of war] JE, *vv.* 3, x. 7, xi. 7; contrast the Dtc. *all the men of war* v. 4, 6, vi. 3, Dt. ii. 14, 16.

see, I have given into thy hand] Similarly vi. 2, Dt. ii. 24. The rest of the verse and the opening clause of *v.* 2 are modelled upon Dt. iii. 2 and Num. xxi. 34 R D.

RD the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land:
and thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto 2
Jericho and her king: only the spoil thereof, and the
cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves:
J set thee an ambush for the city behind it. So Joshua 3
arose, and all the people of war, to go up to Ai: and

2. *only the spoil thereof...unto yourselves*] Cf. *v.* 27, xi. 14, Dt. ii. 35, iii. 6 f. Ai was to be devoted as Jericho had been, but the destruction was not to be carried out so rigorously; contrast vi. 21.

behind it] i.e. to the west of it, as is clear from *vv.* 9, 12.

When the Dtc. expansions are subtracted, J's introduction to the narrative consists of "And the LORD said unto Joshua, Take all the people of war with thee, and set thee an ambush for the city behind it."

3. *arose...to go up to Ai*] Joshua and the people were encamped at Gilgal, or near Jericho: the distance to Ai would be about 15½ miles.

In the text as it stands the account of the operations is as follows: the men chosen for the ambush receive their instructions, and are dispatched under cover of darkness, while Joshua spends the night *in the midst of the people* at Gilgal (*vv.* 3—9). The next morning (*v.* 10) he goes up with the main force to Ai, encamps on the N. of it (*v.* 11), and spends the night *in the midst of the vale* (*v.* 13); on the following day a sortie is made from Ai, and Joshua retires before it as arranged (*v.* 14). Thus the ambush spends a whole day and a night, the day of *vv.* 10, 11 and the night of *v.* 13, close to the city without doing anything. But such cannot have been the meaning intended by the original narrator.

Accordingly some scholars regard *vv.* 3—9 as a parallel account to *vv.* 10—12; *vv.* 3—9 will then describe the advance to the neighbourhood of Ai, whence the ambush is told off, and Joshua spends the night *in the midst of the vale* (altering thus the text of *v.* 9) near to the city; while *vv.* 10—12 will refer in different terms to the same advance from Gilgal, on *the morning* after *vv.* 1, 2, not after the night of *v.* 9.

But strictly speaking *v.* 3 does not say that Joshua went up to Ai. The expression *arose...to go up* is varied from the usual *arose and went up* perhaps in order to mark a preparatory action as distinct from the general advance (*v.* 10). As a preliminary Joshua sent off the ambush, and spent that night with the main body at Gilgal (*v.* 9). The next morning (*v.* 10) he and the attacking force *went up* against Ai, pitched on the N. of the city, and proceeded to carry out his stratagem, *vv.* 14 ff. Thus *vv.* 10, 11 form the sequel of *vv.* 3—9. It is generally agreed that *v.* 12

Joshua chose out thirty thousand men, the mighty men *J*
4 of valour, and sent them forth by night. And he commanded them, saying, Behold, ye shall lie in ambush against the city, behind the city: go not very far from
5 the city, but be ye all ready: and I, and all the people that are with me, will approach unto the city: and it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as
6 at the first, that we will flee before them; and they will come out after us, till we have drawn them away from the city; for they will say, They flee before us, as at the
7 first; so we will flee before them: and ye shall rise up from the ambush, and take possession of the city: for the
8 LORD your God will deliver it into your hand. And it shall be, when ye have seized upon the city, that ye shall set the city on fire; according to the word of the LORD

belongs to the parallel account, and that *v.* 13 is an attempt to smooth over the differences.

thirty thousand] Contrast the 5000 of *v.* 12 E. The number is incredibly large; it is easy to suggest a scribal error for 3000 (cf. vii. 3), but safer to say that we cannot guess the true figures.

the mighty men of valour] Probably an addition, as in vi. 2 (see note).

4. *Behold*] **See**, as in *vv.* 1, 8. The LXX. omits *against the city*, perhaps rightly.

ye shall lie in ambush] Similar tactics were used at the capture of Gibeah, Jud. xx. 29—33. The ambush was to take up a position on the west of the city, probably on a height overlooking it with a low valley between.

6. *drawn them away*] Cf. *v.* 16, Jud. xx. 31 f.

so we will flee before them] Repeated by an oversight from the end of *v.* 5, where the words are in place; LXX. om.

7. *and take possession of the city*] So xvii. 12 JE (where render "take possession of these cities"). The word is generally used of taking permanent possession of a district (e.g. Num. xiv. 24 JE, Jud. i. 19), or dispossessing its inhabitants (e.g. Jud. i. 19, 21), here, exceptionally, of capturing a city by force. The LXX. implies the reading *and draw nigh unto the city* as in *v.* 11; if this was original, it must have been altered by a Hebr. scribe to suit the Dtc. colouring of the rest of the verse: for *the* LORD *your God will deliver it into your hands* is a thoroughly Dtc. expression, cf. *v.* 1 *b*, i. 9 *n.*, vii. 7 *n.* The LXX. omits the latter clause, and the first half of *v.* 8.

8. *according to the word of the* LORD] See *v.* 2, and cf. *v.* 27 RD.

J shall ye do: see, I have commanded you. And Joshua 9
sent them forth: and they went to the ambushment,
and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai:
but Joshua lodged that night among the people.

And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and mustered 10
the people, and went up, he and the elders of Israel,
before the people to Ai. And all the people, *even* the 11
men of war that were with him, went up, and drew nigh,
and came before the city, and pitched on the north side
E of Ai: now there was a valley between him and Ai. | And 12
he took about five thousand men, and set them in ambush
between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of [1]the city. |

[1] Another reading is, *Ai*.

9. *sent them forth*] The dispatch of the ambush, anticipated in *v.* 3, is here recorded in its natural place, after the instructions have been given.

lodged that night **in the midst of** *the people*] i.e. at Gilgal, after the departure of the ambush party. On the supposition that *vv.* 3—9 describe Joshua's advance from Gilgal, and his dispatch of the 30,000 from the neighbourhood of Ai, many adopt Ewald's suggestion to alter the text and read *in the midst of the vale* (with the addition of one letter in the Hebr.), so as to make the situation agree with that of *v.* 13. But according to the analysis adopted here the change is unnecessary. The LXX. omits the sentence.

10. *rose up early in the morning*] Cf. vi. 11, 12. This verse is the sequel of *v.* 9; so Wellhausen, Kuenen, C.-H.

he and the elders of Israel] Cf. vii. 6 *n.*

11. *all the people...the...war*] The Hebr. is anomalous; we may suppose that the text originally read *the people*, as in *v.* 10, and *the war* was added later without attention to grammar. A similar breach of rule occurs in iii. 14 (see note).

and pitched on the north side of Ai] Not in *the vale* (*'ēmek v.* 13), but on a height which was separated from the city by a *valley* (*gai*). If Ai = Khirbet Ḥayyān (see vii. 2 *n.*), this height may have been that on which the village of Dēr Dīwān now stands. The important thing was that the attacking force should occupy a position which would render their movements visible to the ambush. The LXX. spoils the plan by making Joshua and his force take up a position on the east of the city, which would then hide the two Israelite detachments from each other.

12. This verse gives a different account of the posting of the ambush from that which has been described in *vv.* 3—9: it may be assigned to E. The LXX. reduces the verse to "and the

13 [1]So they set the people, even all the host that was on *RJE*
the north of the city, and their liers in wait that were on
the west of the city; and Joshua [2]went that night into
14 the midst of the vale. | And it came to pass, when the *J*
king of Ai saw it, that they hasted and rose up early,
and the men of the city went out against Israel to battle,

[1] Or, *So the people set all &c.*
[2] Some MSS. read, *lodged that night in.*

ambush against the city on the west." For *the city* the Hebr. margin reads *Ai*, but the correction is not wanted.

13. An obscure verse, which adds nothing to the progress of the narrative.

So they set] The subject is indefinite; we must supply "the leaders" or "officers": they assigned to the main force their position, which was on the N. of the city (*v.* 11).

their liers in wait] Lit. *their heel*, a figurative term which may mean either *their rear* (so Vulg., Pesh., cf. Gen. xlix. 19), or *their supplanter* (so Targ., ARV., cf. Ps. xlix. 5 R.V. m.). The word is intended to refer in a general way to the ambush, without committing the writer to either of the contradictory statements in *vv.* 3 and 12.

went that night into the midst of the vale] i.e. after disposing his forces, Joshua moved into the vale below Ai with an attacking party. For *went* several MSS. read *lodged*, as in *v.* 9, and many accept the obvious correction; but it does not make matters any clearer. By *that night* the editor probably meant the *night* in *v.* 9, which, however, was spent in Gilgal, as we have found some reason to believe. The verse is an attempt to harmonize the foregoing accounts, and may be assigned to RJE, as no traces of D appear. Note *the vale* (*'ēmek*) instead of *the valley* (*gai*) of *v.* 11.

The LXX. omits the whole of *v.* 13 together with the greater part of *v.* 12 and the last sentence of *v.* 11, i.e. most of those elements which cannot be made to agree with the main narrative. The omission may be accidental; on the other hand, the missing clauses may not have existed in the Hebr. text which lay before the Gk. translators, and the present M.T. may be the result of a combination from different Hebr. MSS. (Steuernagel).

14. Editorial additions have overloaded the verse. Thus *they hasted and rose up early* has no subject, and does not follow naturally after *when the king of Ai saw it*; *the men of the city* is a doublet of *he and all his people*. The hand of RD is clearly traceable in *the king of Ai...went out against Israel to battle, he and all his people*, see Dt. ii. 32, 33, iii. 1—3, Num. xxi. 33—35 RD. Originally perhaps the verse ran "and it came to pass when the

J he and all his people, [1]at the time appointed, before the
Arabah; but he wist not that there was an ambush
E against him behind the city. | And Joshua and all 15
Israel made as if they were beaten before them, and fled
J by the way of the wilderness. | And all the people that 16

[1] Or, *to the place appointed*

men of the city (or *of Ai*, as *vv.* 20, 21) saw it, they rose up early and hasted and went out; but they knew not that there was an ambush against them behind the city," the plurals in the last sentence having been changed to singulars when the king of Ai was introduced.

at the time appointed, before the Arabah] The words are unintelligible. No *time*, or rather *place*, *appointed* (*mō'ĕd*) has been mentioned before, but the redactor may have inserted the word on the assumption that Joshua must have fixed such a place. Perhaps we should accept the suggestion to alter *lam-mō'ĕd* to *lam-mōrād*, i.e. *to the Descent* (vii. 5); the meaning will then be that the attacking force advanced from the N. of the city, and then retired in an easterly or south-easterly direction to the point where *the Descent* led down to the low levels near Jericho. But what can *before the Arabah* mean? Elsewhere the Arābah denotes the Jordan valley; it is questionable whether the term could be applied to *the wilderness* of *vv.* 15, 20, 24, as some suppose. Perhaps the word is corrupt; the LXX. omits the sentence.

15. *made as if they were beaten*] The verb is in the Niphal or reflexive stem, which is sometimes used in a "tolerative" sense, e.g. Is. lxv. 1 "I let myself be inquired of...I let myself be found." But while the Niphal may at times convey the idea of permission, it is not used to express a feint or pretence; for this Hebr. employs the Hithpael stem (e.g. ix. 4, Jer. xxix. 26), as the Jewish grammarian Ḳimḥi points out in his note on this passage. The plain sense of the words is "And Joshua and all Israel were smitten before them" substituting for *beaten*, which is never used in this connexion, the proper word *smitten* (Jud. xx. 32, 36). This account, which we may take to come from E, will then describe a real defeat and a real flight, as distinct from the feigned retreat in J, *vv.* 5, 6, 16. For *Joshua and all Israel* cf. iii. 7 *n.*, vii. 24.

The LXX. reads "And Joshua and Israel saw it and fell back before them," omitting the rest, and the first part of *v.* 16.

the wilderness] i.e. the hilly country S.E. of Bethel, *vv.* 20, 24, xvi. 1, Jud. xx. 45, in ch. xviii. 12 called "the wilderness of Beth-aven."

16. Continuing J's narrative from *v.* 14.

all the people that were in the city] as distinguished from *the men*

were in [1]the city were called together to pursue after *J*
them: and they pursued after Joshua, and were drawn
17 away from the city. And there was not a man left in Ai
or Beth-el, that went not out after Israel: and they left
18 the city open, and pursued after Israel. | And the LORD *E*
said unto Joshua, Stretch out the javelin that is in thy
hand toward Ai; for I will give it into thine hand. | And *J*
Joshua stretched out the javelin that was in his hand
19 toward the city. And the ambush arose quickly out of
their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out
his hand, and entered into the city, and took it; and

[1] Another reading is *Ai*.

of the city who had already gone out in pursuit (*v.* 14): an indication that *he and all his people* (*v.* 14) was not in the narrative as it originally stood. For *were* **gathered** *together* cf. Jud. vi. 34 f., xviii. 22 f., 1 S. xiv. 20 (all).

17. *or Beth-el*] must be an editorial amplification. Since the ambush was stationed between Bethel and Ai, it is not likely that the Bethelites could have joined in the pursuit. There is nothing elsewhere in the narrative to suggest that Bethel was involved in the attack upon Ai. The LXX. omits the word.

18. *Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand*] The significance of the command becomes clear when we compare the similar command given to Moses, Ex. ix. 22 f., x. 12 f., 21 f. E. Like Moses' rod, the javelin of Joshua has a miraculous effect; it dooms the city (note *toward Ai*); it enables the routed Israelites to turn upon the enemy and smite them (*v.* 24). Like Moses again (Ex. xvii. 11 E), Joshua holds his arm extended until the victory is complete, *v.* 26. These two verses (18, 26) which refer to the javelin belong to the account which describes, not a feint but a real flight; the similarities of thought and expression to the passages in Exodus shew that the account comes from E.

for I will give it into thine hand] Apparently an addition by RD, cf. *v.* 7 *n.*

19. *And the ambush arose quickly*] when they saw from their height on the W. that the attacking force had retired, and drawn away the warriors from the city: continuing *v.* 17. With *the ambush arose* cf. *v.* 7.

as soon as he had stretched out his hand] But this could not have been seen by the ambush at such a distance; moreover the stretching out of Joshua's hand with the javelin was not a signal to the ambush. The words have been inserted in consequence of *v.* 18, to connect the incident of the javelin with J's narrative.

they ran...hasted and set the city on fire] Cf. vii. 22; *v.* 14; *v.* 8.

J they hasted and set the city on fire. And when the men 20
of Ai looked behind them, they saw, and, behold, the
smoke of the city ascended up to heaven, and they had no
* [1]power to flee this way or that way: | and the people that
fled to the wilderness turned back upon the pursuers. |
J And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had 21
taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended,
then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai. And 22
the other came forth out of the city against them; so they
were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some
on that side: and they smote them, so that they let none
of them remain or escape. And the king of Ai they took 23
E alive, and brought him to Joshua. | And it came to pass, 24
when Israel had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants
* of Ai in the field, | in the wilderness wherein they pursued

[1] Heb. *hands*.

20. *the men of Ai*] So *vv*. 21, 25, vii. 4; contrast *the inhabitants of Ai vv*. 24, 26 E.

they saw, and, behold, the smoke...ascended] Cf. Gen. xix. 28 J (a different word for *smoke*).

they had no power] See marg., and for the expression cf. Dt. xxxii. 36, 2 S. iv. 1, Ps. lxxvi. 5.

and the people...the wilderness turned back] This anticipates the *turned again* of *v*. 21, and comes from another source, either from E's account of the flight to the wilderness, *vv*. 15, 24, or from an editorial hand. The LXX. omits the clause.

21. *And when Joshua...saw*] Obviously a continuation of *v*. 20 *a*; *then they turned again* is here in its right place: render *and* **smote** *the men of Ai*.

22. *And the other came forth out of the city*] i.e. the ambush, who thus caught the men of Ai in the rear, while Joshua was pressing them in front.

until *they let none of them remain*] A Dtc. expression, cf. x. 33, 37, 39, 40, xi. 8, Num. xxi. 35, Dt. ii. 34, iii. 3. The phrase *remain or escape*, lit. *survivor and fugitive*, occurs again in literature of the Dtc. age, viz. Jer. xlii. 17, xliv. 14, Lam. ii. 22.

In these two verses we have J's account of the smiting of the men of Ai.

24. Here we have E's version of the incidents related in *vv*. 21 f.: after the pursuers had been disposed of in the open country, the Israelites **turned again** (as in *v*. 21), and smote the rest of the people in the city. The substance of the verse has received various additions. Thus *in the field* is glossed, on the basis of *vv*. 15, 20 *b*, by *in the wilderness wherein they pursued*

them, | and they were all fallen by the edge of the sword, *E*
until they were consumed, that all Israel returned unto
25 Ai, and smote it with the edge of the sword. | And all *J*
that fell that day, both of men and women, were twelve
26 thousand, even all the men of Ai. | For Joshua drew not *E*
back his hand, wherewith he stretched out the javelin,
until he had [1]utterly destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai. |
27 Only the cattle and the spoil of that city Israel took for *RD*
a prey unto themselves, according unto the word of the
28 LORD which he commanded Joshua. So Joshua burnt
Ai, and made it an [2]heap for ever, even a desolation, unto
29 this day. | And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until *J*

[1] Heb. *devoted.* [2] Or, *mound* Heb. *tel.*

them, for which the LXX. gives *in the mountain at the Descent* (cf. note on Jud. i. 16 in Cambr. B.); the Hebr. for the latter word would be *mōrād*, see *v.* 14 *n.*; the Gk. translators either found this in the Hebr. text before them, or they guessed it from a badly written *midbar* = *wilderness*. Again, *until they were consumed* has been added to give emphasis to *they were all fallen*, cf. Dt. ii. 15 and ch. x. 20.

Note *the inhabitants of Ai v.* 26, the equivalent of J's expression *the men of Ai* in the next verse.

26. A continuation of E's narrative *vv.* 18, 24.

Joshua's action resembles that of Moses in the battle with Amalek, Ex. xvii. 9 ff. E. The LXX. omits the verse.

27. Cf. *vv.* 2 *a*, 8 *a*, and notes. From RD.

28. *So Joshua burnt Ai*] According to J's narrative the city had been burnt already by the ambush as arranged, *vv.* 5, 19, where the word is *set on fire*; this is RD's account of the same thing.

an heap for ever] The same word as the Arab. *tell*; see Dt. xiii. 16 [17]. Ai was rebuilt as a matter of fact, but probably on another site; see Is. x. 28 *Aiath*, Ezr. ii. 28 *the men of Beth-el and Ai*.

made it...a desolation] Cf. Jer. vi. 8, x. 22, and for *heap* and *desolation* together cf. *ib.* xlix. 2.

unto this day] Cf. vii. 26, iv. 9 *n.*

29. *he hanged on a tree*] The LXX. explains that it was a stake with a second beam, i.e. perhaps something like the Lat. *furca*, a fork-shaped gallows. To judge from x. 26 J, 2 S. iv. 12, Dt. xxi. 22, the king was put to death first and hanged afterwards as an additional severity: so in Rabbinic law, hanging is to take place after the death penalty has been carried out by

J the eventide: and at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raised thereon a great heap of stones, unto this day. |

stoning or otherwise, Talm. B. *San.* vi. 6. Here the body was further dishonoured by heaping a cairn over it; see vii. 26 *n.*

The law in Dt. xxi. 22 f. forbids what was probably the earlier custom of allowing the body to remain on the tree, and orders it to be buried at night-fall. It seems that this law has influenced the wording here and in x. 27, at any rate in the phrase *at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded*, cf. Dt. xvi. 6, xxiv. 13.

at the entering of the gate of the city] Cf. xx. 4, Jud. ix. 35, 44. The LXX. reads simply *into the pit* (*pâḥath*, cf. 2 S. xviii. 17), which may be original: in some Hebr. MSS., we must suppose, *pâḥath* was read as *péthaḥ* = *the entering*, and the rest added to fill out the sense.

c. The ceremony at Gerizim and Ebal, ch. viii. 30—35.

This section records the fulfilment of the instructions given in Dt. xi. 29 f., xxvii. 2—8, 11—14, but with some difference in details: here the ark forms the centre of the scene, the people stand on the lower slopes of the two mountains; the blessing comes first, and the cursing, upon which special stress is laid in Dt. xxvii., seems to have been passed over in the original form of *v.* 34; the law is read aloud by Joshua, not by the Levites. It is evident that the passage has been inserted by RD, or rather, in view of the differences mentioned, by another redactor of the Dtc. school. He does not seem to have realized that such an incident, implying the undisturbed possession of the land, could hardly have occurred at this stage of the history, before Central Palestine was entered, xxiv. 1 *n.* In the LXX. the passage stands after ix. 2, shewing that it had not yet found a settled position in the text; if it is to be moved at all, it ought to come after xi. 23. But there is no need to assume any displacement. The writer wished to be strictly faithful to Dt. xxvii. 4, *when ye are passed over Jordan, ye shall set up these stones...in mount Ebal*: the ceremony is to be held immediately after the crossing; no difficulties of time and distance are considered; and it seems that Mt Ebal has actually been transported to the neighbourhood of Gilgal (cf. Dt. xi. 30), where the river was crossed. Now that Jericho and Ai have fallen, Joshua takes the first opportunity to carry out the instructions of Moses.

Though the word is not used, the ceremony was in effect the ratification of a covenant. There is the gathering of the people to hear the announcement of the terms, *all the words of the law* *v.* 34; the building of an altar, and the offering and eating of

30 Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD, the God *RD*
31 of Israel, in mount Ebal, as Moses the servant of the LORD commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of [1]unhewn stones, upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto the LORD, and

[1] Heb. *whole.*

sacrifices; the setting up of stones, here inscribed with the requirements of the law: these are the features which constitute the covenant rites at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 3 ff.), and at Shechem (ch. xxiv. 25 ff.).

30. *Joshua built an altar...in mount Ebal*] Mt Ebal, now Jebel Eslāmiyeh, 2772 feet, rises on the N. of Shechem (Nāblus, 1710 feet); opposite to it on the S. is Mt Gerizim *v.* 33, now Jebel eṭ-Ṭōr, 2595 feet. The history records no advance of the Israelites from Ai to Shechem; the intervening country had not yet been conquered, and in ix. 6 Joshua and the camp are back again at Gilgal. But the writer takes little account of historical conditions; he is only concerned to see that there is no delay in following the directions of Dt. xi. 29 f., xxvii. 4 ff. The text of these Dtc. passages has undergone changes which are reflected in the present narrative. Thus in Dt. xxvii. 4 the Samaritan version reads *Gerizim* for *Ebal*, and rightly as it seems: for Gerizim was the mountain of *the blessing* (*ib.* xi. 29, xxvii. 12), and the *altar* would naturally find a place there, since in all probability an ancient sanctuary occupied the summit, as the Samaritan temple did in later ages. Ebal on the other hand was the mountain of *the curse* (*ib.* xi. 29, xxvii. 13), and therefore unsuitable for the altar and the blessing (*vv.* 30, 33). Meyer argues with much force (*Die Israeliten*, pp. 544 ff.) that, in order to oppose Samaritan claims, the whole scene of the ceremony has been transported from Shechem to Gilgal: thus in Dt. xi. 30 the two mountains are actually moved into *the land of the Canaanites which dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal*, though *beside the terebinths of Moreh* shews that originally the text referred to the holy place at Shechem (Gen. xii. 6); the ceremony is to be held immediately after the crossing of the Jordan (Dt. xxvii. 2), the ancient stones of Gilgal are to be plastered and inscribed with the Dtc. law (*ib. vv.* 2, 3), and *Gerizim* has been changed to *Ebal* (*ib. v.* 4 and here). This explanation makes the present narrative intelligible.

31. *the book of the law of Moses*] i.e. Deut., which in xxvii. 5 alludes to the early law of Ex. xx. 25 E. The formula as in *v.* 34, i. 8, xxiii. 6, 2 K. xiv. 6 RD, Dt. xxviii. 58, 61 etc.

burnt offerings...peace offerings] *Burnt offerings* (Hebr. simply

RD sacrificed peace offerings. And he wrote there upon 32
the stones a copy of the law of Moses, [1] which he wrote,
in the presence of the children of Israel. And all Israel, 33
and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on
this side the ark and on that side before the priests the
Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD,
as well the stranger as the homeborn; half of them in
front of mount Gerizim, and half of them in front of
mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the LORD had

[1] Or, *which he wrote in &c.*

offerings, *'ōlōth*) were conveyed to the Deity by fire; *peace offerings* were sacrificial meals, hence Dt. xxvii. 7 *and thou shalt eat there*. Both formed a special feature of the covenant rite at Sinai, Ex. xxiv. 5; the mention of them here is one of the indications that the present ceremony was also a covenant rite.

32. *he wrote there upon the stones*] Not the unhewn stones of the altar (so Pesh.), but the *stones* of Dt. xxvii. 2 ff., i.e. (curiously enough) the stones at Gilgal; see above on *v*. 30, and p. 26.

a copy of the law of Moses] The phrase is taken from Dt. xvii. 18. The Gk. rendering of *copy*, lit. *duplicate*, is *deuteronomion*, which has given its name to the fifth book of Moses in the Gk., Lat., and Engl. Bibles; but the rendering is not strictly correct, for the Hebr. word means a *copy* of an existing law, not *a second law*, as though distinguished from a first.

which he wrote, in the presence of] A pregnant construction, *he wrote* (*and laid*) *before*, cf. the Dtc. expression *set before*, Dt. iv. 8, xi. 32 etc.; the marg. therefore is to be preferred. The sense is improved by omitting *which he wrote*, with the LXX.

33. The grouping of the people, half on each hill, follows the broad lines of the arrangement ordered in Dt. xi. 29, xxvii. 12[a]f.; here, however, the tribes are not specified by name, nor is the responsibility for the blessing and the cursing apportioned between them; and the tribes stand *in front of*, i.e. on the slopes of (cf. ix. 1, Ex. xxxiv. 3, and ch. xxii. 11), Ebal and Gerizim, *facing* the Levitical priests who bear the ark (see iii. 3 *n*.). The spurs of the two hills on the E. of Nāblus would provide a convenient standing-ground for the ceremony. For **their** *officers* (so several MSS., Pesh., Targ.) see on i. 10, and cf. xxiii. 2, xxiv. 1; for *the ark of the covenant of the* LORD see on iii. 3.

as well the stranger as the homeborn] Apparently a later insertion, see Ezek. xlvii. 22, Lev. xxiv. 16, 22; *homeborn* is one of P's technical terms, e.g. Ex. xii. 19, 48 f. + eleven times.

[1]commanded, that they should bless the people of Israel R_D
34 first of all. And afterward he read all the words of the
law, the blessing and the curse, according to all that is
35 written in the book of the law. There was not a word
of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not
before all the assembly of Israel, and the women, and the
little ones, and the strangers that [2]were conversant
among them.

[1] Or, *commanded at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel.*
[2] Heb. *walked.*

the people of Israel] Perhaps the LXX. is right in omitting *of Israel*, and thereby relieving the grammatical harshness of the Hebr.; cf. *v.* 11 *n.*

first of all] To go with *that they should bless*; the marg. makes *first of all* superfluous. Here the blessing takes precedence, in Dt. xxvii. the cursing.

34. *afterward*] i.e. after the sacrifice and the writing of the law upon the stones. Deut. gives no direction to read the law aloud on this occasion. We are told in Ex. xxiv. 7 E that Moses read the book of the covenant (Ex. xx.—xxiii.) in the ears of the people at the inauguration ceremony on Mt Sinai; the redactor wished to imply that Joshua's act was a renewal of the covenant. See on xxiv. 25.

all the words of the law] So Dt. xvii. 19 + six times.

the blessing and the curse] Inserted by an annotator, who noticed that the cursing had been left out in the foregoing account.

according to all that is written] See on *v.* 31.

35. *of all that Moses commanded*] Cf. xi. 15 RD and i. 7.

the assembly of Israel] Cf. Dt. xxxi. 30 + four times.

the women, and the little ones] See i. 14 *n.*

2. *Treaty with the Gibeonites*, ch. ix.

The inhabitants of Gibeon, alarmed by Joshua's recent victories, secure an alliance with the winning side by means of a trick. When the Israelites discover that they have been duped, they dare not repudiate the treaty, but they punish the Gibeonites by condemning them to menial service.

The contributions of RD and P can be detected at once; to RD are due *vv.* 1, 2, 9 *b*, 10, 24, 25, 27 *b*; P is responsible for *vv.* 15 *c*, and for 17—21 which runs parallel to *vv.* 22 f., 26 f.— in the one case *the princes of the congregation* divert the Israelites' indignation by proposing a penalty, in the other *Joshua* does the same thing, *vv.* 23, 27.

RD And it came to pass, when all the kings which were 9
beyond Jordan, in the hill country, and in the lowland,
and on all the shore of the great sea in front of Lebanon,
the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Periz-
zite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, heard thereof; that 2

When these elements are separated, what remains is found to be a composite narrative. Thus in *vv.* 6 *b*, 7. 14 the treaty is made by *the men of Israel* independently of Joshua, while in *vv.* 6 *a*, 8, 9 *a*, 22 *a* *Joshua* conducts the negotiations; *the inhabitants of Gibeon* *v.* 3 are called *the Hivites* in *v.* 7; their protestation *From a far country we are come* is repeated in *vv.* 6 *b* and 9 *a*; in *v.* 15 the treaty is concluded three times over—when we subtract *the princes of the congregation sware unto them* P, the rest of the verse is clearly a doublet. The criteria of language are not very decisive in the combined narrative, but the general treatment, and here and there the turns of expression, make it probable that *vv.* 4, 5, 6 *b*, 7, 11 *b*—14, 15 *b*, 16, 22 *b*, 23, 26, 27 *a* come from J, and *vv.* 3, 6 *a*, 8, 9 *a*, 11 *a*, 15 *a*, 22 *a* from E.

1. To mark the beginning of a fresh stage in the history RD has inserted one of his generalizations (*vv.* 1, 2). Hitherto the Israelites had attacked single cities; but now they have to face the whole allied forces of Canaan, and to wage war on a larger scale. These two verses, which stand apart from the immediate context both before and after, serve as a preamble to chs. ix.—xi., which narrate the conquest of Southern and Northern Palestine.

The opening clause repeats v. 1; as there, *beyond Jordan* means *west* of Jordan. The LXX. reproduces v. 1 more exactly by reading *all the kings of the Amorites*; but the Amorites are mentioned in the list of nations which follows. If the LXX. preserves the original form of the M.T., then the list of the nations must be a later insertion; but there is no reason to suppose that such is the case.

in the hill country...Lebanon] Based on Dt. i. 7: a summary description of the land of Canaan. The entire central range was called "the mountain," i.e. *the hill country* or Highlands, see xv. 48 *n.*; *the lowland*, in Hebr. *the Shephēlah*, was the region of low hills and plains on the W. and S.W. of Judah, sloping down from the Highlands to the sea; its extent is indicated by the list of towns, xv. 33—44; see also xi. 2 *n.* The limit of the Mediterranean coast-line (see i. 4) is carried northwards to the *front*, i.e. the slopes, *of Lebanon* (cf. viii. 33 *n.*), in the LXX. wrongly *Antilebanon*, contrast i. 4 *n.*

the Hittite...the Jebusite] A summary description of the inhabitants of the land. Six nations are enumerated here and in xi. 3, xii. 8, and, in a different order, Ex. iii. 8, 17 J; in ch. iii. 10

they gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua *RD*
and with Israel, with one accord. |
3 But when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what *E*
4 Joshua had done unto Jericho and to Ai, | they also did *J*
work wilily, and went and [1]made as if they had been
ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and
5 wine-skins, old and rent and bound up; and old shoes
and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them;
and all the bread of their provision was dry and was
6 become mouldy. | And they went to Joshua unto the *E*
camp at Gilgal, | and said unto him, and to the men of *J*

[1] Another reading, followed by most ancient versions, is, *took them provisions*. See ver. 12.

the number is seven, which the LXX. gives here by adding *the Girgashite*.

2. *with one accord*] Lit. *with one mouth*, 1 K. xxii. 13.

3. **And** *the inhabitants of Gibeon*] Cf. *v.* 11, x. 1, and *the inhabitants of Ai* viii. 24, 26. Gibeon was an important city, *v.* 17, x. 2, 12, inhabited by Hivites, *v.* 7, xi. 19, called Amorites in 2 Sam. xxi. 2. The name and site are preserved in el-Jīb, an isolated hill (2535 feet), 7 miles S.W. of Ai, and about 5 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. It was the site of a sanctuary in the time of Solomon (1 K. iii. 4), and probably much earlier.

4. **And** *they also did work wilily*] as the Israelites had done against Ai.

made as if they had been ambassadors] This seems to be the meaning of the text, the verb in the Hithpael stem (see viii. 15 *n.*) being derived from a noun *ṣîr* = *ambassador*, Is. xviii. 2, lvii. 9 etc. But it is more likely that the Verss. are right in reading, with the smallest possible change, the same form as in *v.* 12, *they took for themselves provision*, deriving the verb from the noun *ṣaid* = *provision*: after *they went* this follows more suitably than the other rendering.

bound up] or *tied up*, i.e. mended by tying; a different stem of the same verb is used in Ex. xii. 34, 1 S. xxv. 29.

5. *mouldy*] So LXX., followed by Ḳimḥi, hence ARV.; rather *crumbs* (the Hebr. is a plur. noun) or *crumbly*, so Vulg. in frusta comminuti, Targ., Aquila. The root means to *pierce*, *prick*; the same noun in another sense occurs in 1 K. xiv. 3 *cracknels*, a kind of small *pierced* (?) cake.

6. *to Joshua unto the camp at Gilgal*] A distance of some eighteen miles; *the camp* is that of iv. 19, v. 8, x. 6. *Joshua* is approached as the representative of the people, and speaks for them; similarly *vv.* 8, 9 *a*, 15 *a*, 22. In the last clause of the

J Israel, We are come from a far country: now therefore
make ye a covenant with us. And the men of Israel 7
said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us;
E and how shall we make a covenant with you? | And they 8
said unto Joshua, We are thy servants. And Joshua
said unto them, Who are ye? and from whence come ye?
And they said unto him, From a very far country thy 9
servants are come because of the name of the LORD thy
RD God: | for we have heard the fame of him, and all that
he did in Egypt, and all that he did to the two kings of 10
the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king

verse, however, the Gibeonites deal with *the men of Israel*, note *make ye a covenant*; similarly *vv.* 7, 14. The words *unto him, and* were inserted when the parallel versions were combined.

For *the men of Israel* cf. *vv.* 7, 14, x. 24 J, and *the men of Ai* vii. 4 f., viii. 20 f., 25, *the men of Gibeon* x. 6.

From a far country *we are come*] Cf. the corresponding phrase in *v.* 9 *a* E.

7. *the Hivites*] It is strange that this name (cf. xi. 19) should be suddenly used for *the inhabitants of Gibeon v.* 3; perhaps it had occurred before in that part of J's account which was left out when the compiler pieced the narrative together. Elsewhere *the Hivites*, a branch of the original natives, are mentioned as inhabiting the centre of Canaan, e.g. Shechem, Gen. xxxiv. 2. The LXX. sometimes confuses them with the Horites (here and Gen. l.c.), and the Hittites (xi. 3, Jud. iii. 3), owing to the similarity of the letters in Hebr.

Peradventure ye dwell among us] The Israelites seem to regard themselves as already owners of the land, and therefore unable to form an alliance with possible enemies of their race and religion. Such alliances are forbidden in Ex. xxiii. 32 f. JE, xxxiv. 12? J, as well as in Dt. vii. 2. The verse no doubt comes from J; *peradventure...and how* are characteristic points of style.

8. *And they said unto Joshua*] From the other version, E, continuing *v.* 6 *a*. The negotiations are carried on with Joshua; and the Gibeonites do not ask for a covenant, they offer their submission, *we are thy servants*, cf. *v.* 11 *a*, 2 K. x. 5, xvi. 7.

9, 10. *From a very far country*] The counterpart of *v.* 6 *b* J.

because of the name of **Jehovah** *thy God*] Cf. i. 9 *n.*; the next clause explains what is meant by *the name* here.

for we have heard the fame of him] Cf. ii. 10 RD, Num. xiv. 15 JE, Dt. ii. 25; also ch. vi. 27 RD. The last half of this verse and the whole of *v.* 10 are made up of Dtc. expressions: with *all that he did—in Egypt—to the two kings of the Amorites* cf. xxiii. 3,

of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which was at *R*D
11 Ashtaroth. | And our elders and all the inhabitants of our *E*
country spake to us, saying, Take provision in your hand
for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them,
We are your servants: | and now make ye a covenant *J*
12 with us. This our bread we took hot for our provision
out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto
you; but now, behold, it is dry, and is become mouldy:
13 and these wine-skins, which we filled, were new; and,
behold, they be rent: and these our garments and our
shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey.
14 And the men took of their provision, and asked not
15 counsel at the mouth of the LORD. | And Joshua made *E*
peace with them, | and made a covenant with them, to *J*

xxiv. 7; Dt. i. 30, iii. 21, iv. 3, 34, vii. 18, xi. 3—7, xxiv. 9, xxix. 2, xxxi. 4. For *Ashtaroth* see on xii. 4.

11. Continuing *v.* 9 *a*. The Gibeonites had no king; they were governed by *elders*, i.e. the heads of the leading families, who presided over the affairs of the four cities (*v.* 17).

We are your servants] So *v.* 8 E.

now therefore *make ye a covenant*] So *v.* 6 *b* J: the Hivites renew their request. Perhaps, however, the words have been repeated by RJE to pick up the thread of J's narrative.

12. *we took...for our provision*] See *v.* 4 *n*. For *mouldy* see *v.* 5 *n*.

14. *the men*] i.e. the men of Israel *vv.* 6 *b*, 7, who act independently of Joshua. The LXX., followed by the Pesh., reads *the princes* (*vv.* 15 *c*, 18); probably an intentional alteration to avoid the ignoring of the leaders.

took of their provision] Was this merely a proof that they accepted the truth of the Gibeonites' words? More likely the act had a symbolic meaning: the men of Israel partook of the Gibeonites' provision—such as it was—to shew that they entered into an alliance with them. Probably we have here, though in a brief and rather ambiguous form, a reference to the custom of concluding a treaty by a common meal; cf. Gen. xxxi. 54, Ex. xviii. 12, xxiv. 11.

asked not...the mouth of the LORD] by consulting the divine oracle: a phrase which occurs again only in Is. xxx. 2, cf. Gen. xxiv. 57 J.

15. The verse is composed of fragments from three documents which all describe the conclusion of the treaty. Thus *Joshua made peace with them* is connected with *vv.* 6 *a*, 8, 9 *a*, 11 *a* E; *and made a covenant with them* is connected with *vv.* 6 *b*, 7, 11 *b*—

P let them live: | and the princes of the congregation sware
J unto them. | And it came to pass at the end of three 16
days after they had made a covenant with them, that
they heard that they were their neighbours, and that
P they dwelt among them. | And the children of Israel 17
journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day.
Now their cities were Gibeon, and Chephirah, and

14 J; *the princes of the congregation sware unto them* bears the unmistakable stamp of P, *princes vv.* 18 ff., xvii. 4, xxii. 30, 32, Ex. xvi. 22 ("rulers of the congregation"), and often in P, contrast the *elders* of JED; *the congregation*, used regularly by P to describe Israel as a religious community, xviii. 1, xxii. 12, 16, Ex. xii. 3 etc. According to P the leaders conduct the negotiations without any reference to Joshua; in this respect P agrees with J.

made] Lit. *cut* (as elsewhere in this expression): the verb is sing.; but the LXX. reads a plural, of which the subject is *the men* of *v.* 14. This is probably right, the original plur. having been altered to a sing. when this and the preceding clause were combined.

to let them live] But the plot had not yet been discovered, so there was as yet no question of putting the Gibeonites to death. The expression, a single word in Hebr., may be intended to prepare the way for what follows; but it may be a later insertion. LXX. Lucian omits the word.

16. *at the end of three days*] See i. 11 *n.* E, iii. 2.

made a covenant with them] J; see *v.* 6 *b*.

and that they dwelt among them] J; see *v.* 7. This seems to be a doublet of the preceding *that they were their neighbours*, which must then come from E; perhaps both J and E contained an account of the discovery.

Vv. 17—21 come from P, and give an account of the discovery of the fraud, the Israelites' desire for retaliation, and the penalty inflicted upon the Gibeonites, parallel to that of *vv.* 16, 22 ff. P enlarges the incident in characteristic directions, see *vv.* 17, 19.

17. *journeyed*] The term used by P for the marching by stages from Egypt through the wilderness to Canaan (e.g. Ex. xiii. 20, Num. xxxiii. 1—49); here of the march from Gilgal to Gibeon (*v.* 6). Three days seems a long time to spend on the journey (contrast x. 9); but the road would be steep and circuitous, and the numbers considerable. Apparently the object of the movement was to find out more about the Gibeonites on the spot.

Gibeon was the chief of the four cities belonging to the tribe. *Chephīrah* (= *village*) xviii. 26, is identified with Kefir, a ruined site three or four miles S.W. of el-Jīb (Gibeon); *Beēroth* (= *wells*) xviii. 25, may be represented by the large village of

18 Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim. And the children of Israel *P*
smote them not, because the princes of the congregation
had sworn unto them by the LORD, the God of Israel.
And all the congregation murmured against the princes.
19 But all the princes said unto all the congregation, We
have sworn unto them by the LORD, the God of Israel:
20 now therefore we may not touch them. This we will
do to them, and let them live; lest wrath be upon us,
21 because of the oath which we sware unto them. And
the princes said unto them, Let them live: so they
became hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all

el-Bireh, with several wells and some ruins, about five miles N.E. of Gibeon, on the road from Jerusalem to Bethel; *Kiriath-jeārim* (= *city of woods*), also called Baalah xv. 9, or Kiriath-baal xv. 60, xviii. 14, or Baale Judah 2 S. vi. 2, has been plausibly identified with Kiryat el-'Enab (Abu Ghōsh), which stands just at the distance from Jerusalem, nine Roman miles to the N.W., given by Eusebius (*Onom.* 109, 27; 271, 40); it became famous as the temporary home of the ark, 1 S. vi. 21, vii. 1 f., cf. also Jud. xviii. 12. These cities afterwards belonged to the Benjamite territory, xviii. 25—28, Ezr. ii. 25 f., Neh. vii. 29.

18. *smote them not, because...had sworn*] See *v.* 15 *c*, Lev. xix. 12, Ps. xv. 4.

the congregation murmured] as their fathers had murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, Ex. xvi. 2, 7, 8, Num. xiv. 2, 36, xvi. 41 [xvii. 6] P.

20. that there be no *wrath upon us*] So Num. i. 53, xviii. 5 P. When the oath was violated in Saul's time, wrath fell upon Israel in the shape of a famine, 2 Sam. xxi. 1 ff.

21. After *This we will do to them v.* 20, a statement of what it was proposed to do is expected here. The LXX. implies that this verse originally ran "Let them live, and become hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation. And all the congregation did (LXX. cod. F) as the princes had spoken unto them." The language gains in vigour by omitting *and the princes said unto them*, with LXX. and Vulg. We must suppose that when "And all the congregation did" was struck out of the Hebr. text, "and become" was altered to *so they became.*

hewers of wood and drawers of water] Apparently a current proverbial phrase for the lowest class of the community, Dt. xxix. 11 [10].

The device which enabled the Israelites both to keep their oath and to satisfy their vengeance is here suggested by the princes; in the parallel account, *vv.* 23, 27, it is ascribed to Joshua. Moreover, the Gibeonites are here condemned to the position of

P the congregation; as the princes had spoken unto them. |
E And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, 22
saying, Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are
J very far from you; | when ye dwell among us? Now 23
therefore ye are cursed, and there [1] shall never fail to be
of you bondmen, both hewers of wood and drawers of
RD water for the house of my God. | And they answered 24
Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly told thy
servants, how that the LORD thy God commanded his
servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy

[1] Heb. *shall not be cut off from you.*

slaves to *all the congregation*, not to the temple and altar, as in *vv.* 23, 27; this is in accordance with P's general scheme, for in P it is the Levites who perform the menial service of the sanctuary, e.g. Num. iii. 6—9, xviii. 3 f.

The way in which this passage ignores Joshua is worth noticing. Elsewhere in the P sections of this book Joshua is prominent, and Eleazar is mentioned with him and takes the precedence (xiv. 1, xix. 51, xxi. 1); the omission of both has led some scholars to think that *vv.* 17—21 belong to a later stratum of P, like xxii. 9—34.

22. *And Joshua called for them*] From E, see *vv.* 6 *a*, 8, 9 *a*: the word *beguiled*, cf. Gen. xxix. 25 E, points to the same source. On the other hand *when ye dwell among us* agrees with the language of *vv.* 7, 16 *b*, assigned to J.

23. **And now** *cursed* **are ye**] So Gen. iv. 11, cf. *ib.* iii. 14, ix. 25 J. The contempt and hatred felt by the Israelites for the native races dictate the sentence; cf. xi. 15 *n.*, Jud. i. 28 ff.

there shall never fail to be of you bondmen] Lit. *there shall not be cut off from you a slave*; for the idiom in solemn asseverations cf. 1 S. ii. 33, 2 S. iii. 29, 1 K. ii. 4, Jer. xxxiii. 17, 18. The verb and the noun are in the sing., the clause which follows is in the plur., and has all the appearance of an insertion from *v.* 21.

for the house of my God] Similarly *v.* 27 *for the altar of the* LORD; contrast *v.* 21 *unto all the congregation*. The phrase, like that of vi. 24, implies the existence of the temple. The LXX. reads *for me and for my God*, perhaps to avoid the obvious anachronism.

24. The Gibeonites' excuse, *vv.* 24, 25, is worded in the language of RD; they are made to quote the Dtc. command to exterminate the natives of Canaan (e.g. Dt. vii. 1, 2, 23 f., xx. 17, for *destroy* see ch. vii. 12 *n.*), and they echo the words which RD puts into the mouth of Rahab, ii. 9—11, cf. v. 1.

his servant Moses] Cf. i. 1 *n.*

all the inhabitants of the land from before you; therefore *RD*
we were sore afraid for our lives because of you, and
25 have done this thing. And now, behold, we are in thine
hand: as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto
26 us, do. | And so did he unto them, and delivered them *J*
out of the hand of the children of Israel, that they slew
27 them not. And Joshua made them that day | hewers of *P*
wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and |
for the altar of the LORD, | unto this day, in the place *J R*
which he should choose. |

25. *behold, we are in thine hand*] Cf. Gen. xvi. 6 J; *as it seemeth good and right unto thee* is a Dtc. expression, Dt. vi. 18, xii. 28; both phrases occur together in Jer. xxvi. 14.

26. Continuing *v.* 23. For *deliver...out of the hand of* cf. such J passages as Gen. xxxii. 11 [12], xxxvii. 21, Ex. ii. 19.

and *they slew them not*] Evidently J had given some account, probably after *v.* 16, of the Israelites' determination to put the Gibeonites to death; but P's narrative *vv.* 17—21 has taken its place.

27. In this verse *hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and* seems to be derived from P's version, *v.* 21[1]; while *unto this day, in the place which he should choose* is clearly due to RD, cf. iv. 9 *n.* and Dt. xii. 5, 11 etc.

What remains may well be the concluding remark of J, cf. *v.* 23: *And Joshua* **gave** *them that day* **to** *the altar of the LORD.* For the word *gave* (*nāthan*) in this connexion see 1 Sam. i. 11; it is the word which is used in the later literature of the Levites, who were *given*, *given* (*nethūnim*) to Aaron and his sons, Num. iii. 9 R.V. m., viii. 16, 19; hence, in a slightly different form *the Nethīnim* (1 Chr. ix. 2, Ezr ii. 43, 70, Neh. vii. 46, 73), who were originally foreigners and prisoners of war presented to the temple as slaves by the kings of Judah (Ezr. viii. 20).

The LXX. adds a sentence to this verse, reading the whole as follows: "And Joshua appointed them on that day wood-cutters and water-carriers to all the congregation and to the altar of God. Therefore the inhabitants of Gibeon became wood-cutters and water-carriers for the altar of God unto this very day, and unto the place which the Lord should choose." Some scholars adopt this expansion as accounting more naturally for *unto this day* than the M.T.; but the additional sentence is not really necessary, for the expression *gave them...unto this day* has the support of usage, e.g. vii. 26 *a*, viii. 28, x. 27.

The story of the Gibeonites and their treatment by Joshua

[1] See Wellhausen. *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Isr.*, p. 374 f.

J Now it came to pass, when Adoni-zedek king of Jerusa- 10

serves a twofold purpose. It accounts for the origin of the temple slaves, who must have been a familiar institution at Jerusalem under the monarchy, as we may infer from Ezek. xliv. 7, Zech. xiv. 21, Ezr. viii. 20. At the same time it explains how the ancient alliance between Israel and these people came about, an alliance which was recognized as binding in the time of Saul: his violation of it led to a feud which was only extinguished by the blood of his descendants, 2 Sam. xxi. 1 ff. By degrees the Gibeonites became absorbed into the Israelite population; they are mentioned in the list of those who came back from the captivity, but in no way distinguished from the rest of the Jews, Neh. vii. 25.

3. *Battle at Gibeon, and subjugation of the Southern Canaanites,* ch. x.

This chapter falls into three divisions: (*a*) *vv.* 1—15 the overthrow of the alliance of native chiefs at Gibeon, (*b*) *vv.* 16—27 the execution of the five chiefs at Makkēdah, (*c*) *vv.* 28—43 a summary of the conquests in the South.

In (*a*) the narrative seems to be made up of two traditions which differ somewhat in detail, especially in the account of the flight after the battle at Gibeon; thus in *v.* 10 the allies are chased up *the ascent of Beth-horon* and onwards as far as *Makkēdah*; the chiefs are put to death there, and the Israelites continue the pursuit (*vv.* 16 ff.). The ancient lines quoted from the book of Jashar (*vv.* 12, 13) refer to a prolonged action after the main battle has been won. On the other hand, in *v.* 11 the enemy flies down *the descent of Beth-horon* and southwards to *Azēkah*; a great hail-storm overwhelms and annihilates them on the way, without any need of further effort on Israel's part. The source of the latter account, with its antecedents in *vv.* 1 *b*, 4, 5 *a*, 6 *b*, is probably E. The two narratives have been united by RD, whose hand appears clearly in *vv.* 8, 12. The second division (*b*) comes from J, with Dtc. and later expansions in *vv.* 19, 20, 25, 27 *end*. The summary contained in (*c*) seems to be the work of RD, based upon earlier material. It is not a direct continuation of the old narrative (*b*); for the king of Hebron, who has been executed in *v.* 23, is put to death again in *v.* 37. Different traditions with regard to the capture of Hebron and Debir are given in xi. 21, xiv. 13—15 RD, xv. 13—15 J; cf. Jud. i. 20, 10, 11.

Just as Adoni-ṣedeḳ of Jerusalem collected the local chiefs of Southern Canaan to resist the Israelite invasion, so at a later time Sisera of Harōsheth placed himself at the head of *the kings of Canaan* to attack the Israelites in the North: Jud. v.

1. *Now it came to pass, when...heard*] Similarly xi. 1, Gen. xxix. 13, xxxix. 19 J.

lem heard how Joshua had taken Ai, and had [1]utterly *J*
destroyed it; | as he had done to Jericho and her king, *RD*
so he had done to Ai and her king; | and how the inhabit- *E*
ants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel, and were
2 among them; | that they feared greatly, because Gibeon *J*
was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because
it was greater than Ai, and all the men thereof were
3 mighty. Wherefore Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem sent

[1] Heb. *devoted*

Adoni-zedek king of Jerusalem] The king's name sounds as though it meant *lord of righteousness*; but the second word in the compound, *zedek* or rather *ṣedeḳ*, is the name of a Canaanite god (Συδύκ, Philo Bybl., *Fr. Hist. Graec.* III. 569), met with in Can. and Phoen. pr. nn., such as Ben-ṣedeḳ (Am. letters, no. 125, 37), Melki-ṣedeḳ (Gen. xiv. 18, Ps. cx. 4), Ṣidḳi-milk (*NSI.*, p. 349); *Adoni-ṣedeḳ* will then mean *Ṣedeḳ is lord*, cf. the Heb. Adoni-jah, and the Phoen. Adoni-eshmun. Probably he was the same person as Adoni-bezeḳ in Jud. i. 5—7 (to be corrected to *Adoni-ṣedeḳ*), an identification already made by the LXX. here. His city was Jerusalem. Both name and place were in existence long before the Israelite invasion, as we know from the Amarna letters, c. 1400 B.C., several of which (nos. 179—185) were dispatched by the governor of *Uru-salim*, i.e. "city of safety," or "city of (the god) Shalem." The antiquity of the name may be gathered also from the O.T., e.g. xv. 63, Jud. i. 7, 8, 21 J, 2 S. v. 6; that the city was once called Jebus (see Jud. xix. 10) is merely an inference from the name of its early inhabitants.

as he had done...so he had done] Cf. viii. 2 RD, Dt. iii. 2.

and how the inhabitants of G. had made peace] See notes on ix. 3 and 15 E. J's brief introduction has thus been filled out by RD and E.

and were among them] The Heb. implies "and had been allowed to remain among them" (Bennett), cf. ix. 22 ff. This parenthesis looks like an addition; the LXX. omits it.

2. *they feared greatly*] Adoni-ṣedeḳ alone has been mentioned; *they* must be the king and his people.

Gibeon] See on ix. 3 and 11. Though it had no king, Gibeon was as important as one of the royal cities; LXX. "as one of the mother-cities."

and all the men thereof were mighty] Cf. viii. 20 *n*. The men of Gibeon had shewn themselves to be anything but *heroes*; their prowess was no doubt magnified by rumour and fear—which "is nothing else but a surrender of the succours which reason

J unto Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto

offereth." We need not, therefore, adopt the proposal to read *Ai* for *Gibeon*.

3. The five cities are all in the S. and S.W. of Palestine, and considerable distances apart. *Hebron* (3040 feet), about 19 miles S. of Jerusalem, lies on the W. slope of a ridge in a district famous for its vineyards and fruit-trees. It is one of the oldest inhabited cities in the world (cf. Num. xiii. 22; Jos., *Ant.* i. 8, 3, *War* iv. 9, 7), how old may be judged from the patriarchal legends, in which it is specially connected with Abraham (Gen. xiii. 18, xviii. 1 J, xxiii. 19 P etc.) as a place of immemorial sanctity. Hebron has been thought to owe its name to the Ḥabiru (cf. rather the Kenite pr. n. Heber, Jud. iv. 11), frequently mentioned in the Amarna letters as invaders from the desert in the fifteenth cent. B.C.; and it has been identified with Khibur in the lists of Ramses III., c. 1200 B.C.; both conjectures are equally hazardous. The modern name is *el-Ḫalīl* = "the friend," short for "the town of Ḫalīl Allah," i.e. "the friend of God," the title by which Abraham is known among the Moslems (Ḳoran iv. 124; cf. Is. xli. 8, 2 Chr. xx. 7, Jas. ii. 23); the mosque, or Ḥarām, which encloses the cave where the patriarchs are believed to be buried is one of the four chief sanctuaries of Islam. Here Hebron has a king (so *v.* 37, xii. 10 RD) like the other cities; a different tradition appears in xv. 14 J, Num. xiii. 22 JE, Jud. i. 20 J, where Hebron is captured by Caleb after the defeat, not of its king, but of the three giants (or perhaps, families of giants), who were its captains. These Anākim, or "(long-) necked people," are generally associated with Hebron, though not in the present chapter.

Jarmuth (xii. 11, xv. 35, Neh. xi. 29) is probably to be identified with the ruined site Yarmūk, on a terraced hill eighteen miles S.W. of Jerusalem. The ancient name has been partly changed, perhaps to make it agree with the familiar Yarmuk, a river on the E. of the Jordan; the change is at any rate earlier than Eusebius, who writes *Jermochus* (*Onom.* 266, 38).

The site of *Lachish* (xii. 11, xv. 39, 2 K. xviii. 14, Jer. xxxiv. 7 etc.) has recently been recovered at Tell el-Ḥesy, thirty-three miles S.W. of Jerusalem, where the low hills of the Shephēlah descend to the Philistine plain; Umm Lākis, three miles to the N.W., preserves the old name. The excavation of the Tell or mound brought to light the remains of some eleven cities one above another, dating from c. 1700 to c. 400 B.C., as the evidence of the pottery shews. The Amarna letters mention the place (*Lakiša, Lakiši*, nos. 180, 181, 217—219) and Zimrida its governor; one of the series (no. 219), intended for the Pharaoh but never sent, was actually found among the débris of the third city.

4 Debir king of Eglon, saying, | Come up unto me, and help E
me, and let us smite Gibeon: for it hath made peace
5 with Joshua and with the children of Israel. Therefore
the five kings of the Amorites, | the king of Jerusalem, J
the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of
Lachish, the king of Eglon, gathered themselves together,
and went up, they and all their hosts, and encamped
6 against Gibeon, and made war against it. And the
men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp to Gilgal,
saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants; | come E
up to us quickly, and save us, and help us: for all the
kings of the Amorites that dwell in the hill country
7 are gathered together against us. | So Joshua went up J

The sixth city was that which Sennacherib besieged in 701 B.C. *Eglon* (xii. 12, xv. 39) is probably represented by Tell 'Ajlān, two miles N. of Lachish, and sixteen miles N.E. of Gaza.

The names of the "kings," or petty chiefs, Hoham and Piram ("wild ass") have Arabic terminations; Japhia and Debir elsewhere are names of places (*v.* 38, xix. 12), though the former was also borne by one of David's sons (2 S. v. 15).

4. This *v.* and *v.* 5 to *Amorites* are probably derived from E. With *come up unto me, and help me* cf. *v.* 6 *b*; *it hath made peace* cf. *v.* 1 *b* note.

5. *the Amorites*] as a name for the pre-Israelite population E. and W. of Jordan is characteristic of E (e.g. *v.* 6 *b*, xxiv. 8, 12, 15, 18), and of D (e.g. *v.* 12, v. 1, vii. 7); see vii. 9 *n*. The rest of the *v.* is from J. The LXX. *Jebusites*, but in *v.* 6 *Amorites*. As illustrating the views of the different writers, it may be noticed that here the inhabitants of Hebron are called "Amorites," in Jud. i. 10 J "Canaanites," in Gen. xxiii. etc. P "Hittites."

they and all their hosts] Cf. xi. 4 J.

6. *the men of Gibeon*] Cf. viii. 20 *n*., and contrast *the inhabitants of G. v.* 1 *b*.

to the camp to Gilgal] All the sources agree in placing the headquarters here, thus iv. 19, v. 10 P; ix. 6 E; x. 6, 7, 9 J; x. 15, 43, xiv. 6 RD.

come up to us...and help us] repeating the language of E in *v.* 4.

all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the hill country] It is questionable whether this description could be applied to the five kings mentioned in *vv.* 3, 5; for except Jerusalem and Hebron, the other places were not situated *in the hill country*. Probably, therefore, this is E's description of the hostile forces: note *the Amorites* (*v.* 5), and that different words are used for *gathered together* here and in *v.* 5 *b* J.

J from Gilgal, he, and all the people of war with him,
RD and all the mighty men of valour. And the LORD 8
said unto Joshua, Fear them not: for I have delivered
them into thine hands; there shall not a man of them
J stand before thee. | Joshua therefore came upon them 9
suddenly; *for* he went up from Gilgal all the night. And 10
the LORD discomfited them before Israel, and he slew
them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased
them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, and smote
E them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah. | And it came to 11

7, 8. *and all the mighty men of valour*] In this phrase, and in the whole of *v.* 8, we mark the familiar idioms of RD; cf. i. 14; *vv.* 30, 32, viii. 1 *n.*, Dt. iii. 3; ch. xxi. 44, xxiii. 9.

9. *from Gilgal*] to Gibeon, by Michmash, Geba, Ramah, is about twenty-two miles; the distance, therefore, could only be covered in a night by forced marching. The attack on Ai was also preceded by a long night march, viii. 3.

10. This *v.*, J in the main, describes the overthrow of the enemy at Gibeon and the first stage of the subsequent flight. From Gibeon the kings and their hosts fled five miles westwards to *the ascent of Beth-horon* (now Bet Ur el-fôḳa, 2022 feet), then down the narrow pass from the highlands to the western plain, and on to *Makkēdah*. The position of the latter is not known; el-Mughār (= "the caverns"), on the spur of a hill containing several caves, 7½ miles from the coast and S.W. of Ekron, has been suggested[1]. There was, and still is, an Upper and a Lower Beth-horon (now Bet Ur et-taḥta, 1310 feet, two miles to the N.W.), xvi. 3, 5, xviii. 13, 14, 1 K. ix. 17 etc.; accordingly the LXX. here and in *v.* 11 reads *Horonein*, a dual. The *ascent* and *descent* of Beth-horon prob. both refer to the same road, from the edge of the hill country to the plain, looked at from opposite ends (Smith, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 558). Judas Maccabaeus won a famous victory in the same region, 1 Macc. iii. 16—24.

The subj. of *discomfited* and **smote** is *the* LORD; while the subj. of *chased them* and *smote them to A.* must be the Israelites: the LXX. makes this clearer by reading the last two verbs as plural.

and smote them to Azēkah] The same verb as in cl. *a*. The sentence thus appears to be an awkward attempt to combine J's account of the battle and pursuit with that of E, which follows in *v.* 11.

11. The parallel version. After their defeat at Gibeon, the

[1] Sir C. Warren in *PEF. Mem.* II., pp. 411 ff. An illustration of el-Mughār is given in Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre Sainte* (1898), p. 94.

pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in *E*
the going down of Beth-horon, that the LORD cast down
great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and
they died: they were more which died with the hailstones
than they whom the children of Israel slew with the
sword. |

12 Then spake Joshua to the LORD | in the day when the *J R*
LORD delivered up the Amorites before the children of
Israel; and he said in the sight of Israel, |

enemy's forces are overtaken and destroyed as they fly down *the* **descent** *of Beth-horon*, in a southerly direction to *Azēkah*. The name of this place has not survived, but the site may be looked for in the neighbourhood of Socho (xv. 35, 1 S. xvii. 1, cf. Jer. xxxiv. 7), which is generally identified with esh-Shuweikeh, fourteen miles W. of Bethlehem, though Bliss thinks Tell Zakarīyeh, three miles to the N.W., more probable[1]. The hail-storm completed the work which the Israelites began; they had nothing more to do; cf. Jud. v. 20, 21, Ps. xviii. 11—14.

12. *Then spake*] So Ex. xv. 1, Num. xxi. 17. *Vv.* 12—14 must have been extracted by RD from an ancient book, for the editorial hand appears at the beginning and end of the passage: thus with *the* LORD *delivered up...before* cf. xi. 6, Dt. i. 8, 21 (R.V. *set before*), ii. 31, 33, 36 etc.; *the Amorites* cf. *v.* 5 *n.*; *for the* LORD *fought for Israel*, though occurring first in J, Ex. xiv. 14, 25, was adopted by D, e.g. Dt. i. 30, iii. 22, xx. 4.

After *delivered up the Amorites* the LXX. adds "into the hand of Israel, where he smote them in Gibeon and they were smitten before the sons of Israel"; probably an amplification by the translators, contributing nothing to the narrative.

and he said in the sight of Israel] Cf. Dt. xxxi. 7. Similarly in 2 S. i. 18 *and he said* is followed by a parenthesis before the song begins. The LXX. om. *in the sight of Israel*; but Aquila, and Syro-Hex. read "to the sons of Israel." It is suggested by Mr Thackeray (*JTS.* XI., p. 526) that the latter represents the true text, and means "(belonging) to (the collection of) the sons of Israel," like *to the sons of Korah* in the titles of certain Psalms; and in the same way he explains (*to*) *the sons of Judah* in 2 S. i. 18. But *the sons of Korah* were a guild or choir of Levites who sang in the temple services: it does not seem likely that "the sons of Israel" (or "Judah") could have been the name of a guild of singers. The reading of the M.T. is to be preferred.

The words put into Joshua's mouth are marked by the rhythm

[1] *PEF. Qtly St.* 1900, p. 97 f.

J Sun, [1]stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, 13
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

[1] Heb. *be silent.*

and parallelism characteristic of Hebr. poetry: thus, indicating the number of beats in each line,

Sun, upon Gibeon halt,
And moon, in the vale of Aijālon!
So the sun halted, and the moon stayed,
Till the nation was revenged on its foes.

The quatrain consists of lines with 3, 3, 4, 3 beats in each respectively, a sequence not often found; but an exact parallel occurs in Jud. v. 4; cf. Is. ii. 7 (4, 3, 3, 3).

stand thou still!] The vb. means either *to be dumb, silent* (Am. v. 13, Lev. x. 3, Ps. iv. 4 [5]), or *to be still* when the opposite would be motion (Jer. viii. 14, Ps. xxxi. 17 [18], Job xxxi. 34). Here the reference is to *stillness* as opposed to *motion* (cf. 1 S. xiv. 9 *tarry*, Jer. xlvii. 6): this becomes plain in *v.* 13 *a*, where the parallel is *stayed*, and in *v.* 13 *b*, where the prose version says *the sun...hasted not to go down.*

Gibeon and *Aijālon* would lie E. and W. of Beth-horon, where the speaker is imagined as standing; the hour is morning, when the battle at Gibeon took place, *v.* 9, and early enough for both sun and moon to be visible at the same time. The *vale of Aijālon* is the broad fertile plain which slopes down from Beth-horon towards the sea; the name (mentioned in the Am. tablets, 173, 20; 180, 57, and c. 950 B.C. in Shishak's list, with Gibeon and Beth-horon, nos. 26, 23, 24) is preserved in *Yālō* 940 feet, in the Shephēlah, about 9 m. due W. of Gibeon. Near Beth-horon three gorges from the Central Range open out into the valley, which thus forms one of the main natural passages from the coast to Jerusalem. "Throughout history we see hosts swarming up this avenue, or swept down it in flight" (Smith, *HGHL.*, p. 210); cf. 1 S. xiii. 18, xiv. 31, 2 S. v. 25, 1 Chr. viii. 13, Jos., *War* ii. 19, 1.

13. *the nation...***his** *enemies*] LXX. *God* instead of *the nation*, which suggests that the Gk. translators found *Jehovah...his enemies* in the Hebr. text before them. Perhaps *Jehovah* was written with a single letter and a mark of abbreviation[1]: this might easily

[1] For evidence that the LXX. sometimes found *Jehovah* abbreviated in the Hebr. see Driver, *Samuel*[2], p. lxix *n.*

Is not this written in the book of [1]Jashar? And the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go
14 down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD hearkened unto the voice of a man: | for the LORD fought for Israel. *RD*

[1] Or, *The Upright* See 2 Sam. i. 18.

have been corrupted into the word for *nation* (without an art. in the Hebr.). For the construction *until...had avenged themselves*, the impf. referring to the past, cf. in Hebr. Ps. lxxiii. 17, 2 C. xxix. 34.

Some consider that *And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed* is a prosaic insertion by the early narrator from whom the passage was taken by RD. If we strike out the line the metrical form will certainly be improved:

Sun, upon Gibeon halt,
And moon, in the vale of Aijālon,
Till Jehovah be revenged on his foes!

But the omission is hardly justifiable, for the prose counterpart of the poem comes in *v.* 13*b*. Moreover, there is an artistic symmetry in the text as it stands: the invocation is followed by the event; cf. Ps. cxiv., where, in the reverse order, the event (*vv.* 3, 4) is followed by the invocation.

Is not this written in the book of Jashar?] A collection of national songs, mentioned again in 2 S. i. 18, and in the original text of 1 K. viii. 13, LXX. *v.* 53 (see note in C.B.); it may well have contained other songs, such, for instance, as Jud. v., Num. xxi. 17 f., 27—30, Ex. xv. 1—18. Of the same kind was the collection known as *the book of the Wars of Jehovah*, Num. xxi. 14. *Jashar* = *upright one*, in 2 Sam. i. 18 *the upright one*, i.e. perhaps Israel; cf. *Jeshurun*, Dt. xxxii. 15, as a name for Israel, and Num. xxiii. 10 (*the righteous*, plur.). It has been suggested that *Jashar* was the first word of the book, properly *Jashir* = (*then*) *sang*, as in Ex. xv. 1, Num. xxi. 17; cf. the Hebr. titles of the books of the Pentateuch; but the form with the art. in 2 S. i. 18 is against this. The Targ. and Kimhi (on the latter passage) understand *Jashar* as = the book of the Law. The LXX. omits the whole sentence; possibly, therefore, it is a gloss inserted after the Gk. translation was made.

13, 14. *And the sun stayed...the voice of a man*] The narrator's (? J's) comment, written in prose. He interprets Joshua's adjuration as a prayer, which Jehovah answered by causing the sun and moon literally to stand still for Israel's benefit. With

a *whole day* cf. Lev. xxv. 30 "a *full* year," xxiii. 15 "seven sabbaths *complete*."

14. *there was no...like that before it or after it*] Cf. Ex. x. 14 J, and *ib.* ix. 18, 24 J.

How are we to understand the episode here recorded? Three explanations may be mentioned. (1) An unknown poet divined the leader's passionate wish that the day might last long enough to make his victory complete. The language is figurative, and no more implies a miraculous interference with the course of nature than the fine rhetoric of Hab. iii. 11, or the prayer of Agamemnon that the sun might not set before he had burnt down the palace of Priam (*Iliad* II. 413 ff.; cf. XVIII. 239 f., *Od.* XXIII. 241 ff.)[1]. But, as frequently happens, the figurative language of poetry came to be misunderstood as describing a literal fact; so in the prose version here, *vv.* 13 *b*, 14, and in Ecclus. xlvi. 4—6. (2) Both the poem and the comment upon it refer to a miracle, of the same kind as the crossing of the Jordan and the fall of Jericho. What actually happened we cannot tell, and all attempts at a physical explanation are vain; but some extraordinary phenomenon occurred at the very moment when Israel needed help; a similar providence was seen in the hail *v.* 11, and in the storm Jud. v. 20 f. So Steuernagel, in loc., Kittel, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.*[2] I., p. 614 f. (3) An old popular incantation, used in times of solar eclipse, has been attached to this famous battle. The primitive notion was that magicians by their spells could cause the sun to shine, or to hasten or delay its setting (see Job iii. 8, and cf. Frazer, *GB.*, *The Magic Art* I., pp. 311 ff.); here we have a belief of natural religion taken up into the higher level of Israel's faith. So Thackeray, *JTS.* XI., p. 531 f. Of these, the first explanation, which is that of Dillmann, Bennett etc., appears to be preferable[2].

[1] In moments of intense feeling nature often seems to respond to human emotion; e.g. *Last Journals of Bishop Hannington*, p. 184 f. "As soon as the sun showed, a fresh and powerful band of warriors came at once, and demanded *hongo*....How often I looked at the sun! It stood still in the heavens, nor would go down. I agonised in prayer, and each time trouble seemed to be averted" (quoted in *Enc. Bib.*, col. 2333). Cf. also Tennyson, *The Letters*, stanzas I. and VI.

[2] Prof. van Hoonacker in a fresh discussion of the passage (*Expositor*, Nov. 1916, pp. 321 ff.) substitutes for *stand still v.* 12, the rendering *cease*, i.e. from shining; and thinks that Joshua's desire was not for the lengthening of the day, but for the darkening of the light, and that the poem refers to the black clouds of the hail-storm (*v.* 11). The meaning to *cease* from shining is, however, not only questionable in itself, but contradicted by the parallelism and by the prose counterpart of the poem. It is better to recognize frankly that the verses are poetry and must be understood as poetry. A literal interpretation cannot avoid forcing an unnatural sense upon the language.

15 And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the *Rd*
camp to Gilgal. |
16 And these five kings fled, and hid themselves in the *J*
17 cave at Makkedah. And it was told Joshua, saying,
The five kings are found, hidden in the cave at Makkedah.
18 And Joshua said, Roll great stones unto the mouth of
19 the cave, and set men by it for to keep them: but stay
not ye; pursue after your enemies, and smite the hind-
most of them; | suffer them not to enter into their cities: *Rd*
for the LORD your God hath delivered them into your
20 hand. And it came to pass, when Joshua and the
children of Israel had made an end of slaying them with
a very great slaughter, | till they were consumed, and the *
remnant which remained of them had entered into the
21 fenced cities, | that all the people returned to the camp *J*
to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none [1]moved his

[1] Heb. *whetted*.

15. The *v.* is identical with *v.* 43, but at this point, before the pursuit is over, it comes too soon. It might have formed the close of E's account of the victory (*v.* 11), if the language did not point to Rd; *Joshua...and all Israel with him*, cf. *vv.* 29—38, iii. 7 *n.* The LXX. omits the *v.* in both places; supposing it to be a late insertion, its presence here must be due to an accident or a mistake.

16. Continuing J's narrative of the flight to Makkēdah, *v.* 10 *b*. Hebr. idiom writes *in the cave*, but in Engl. we should say *in a cave*; so *v.* 17.

17. *And it was told...saying*] Cf. Gen. xxii. 20, xxxviii. 13, 24 J.

19. *stay not ye*] Cf. Gen. xix. 17, xlv. 9 J. *smite the hindmost*, lit. *cut off the tail*, only again in Dt. xxv. 18. *for the LORD your God...hand* is an addition by Rd.

20. *And it came to pass, when...had made an end...till they were consumed*] So viii. 24. *of them* refers to the enemy. The form of the expression *fenced cities* occurs again in the Hexat. only in xix. 35, Num. xxxii. 17, 36 ? JE and P; contrast *cities...fenced* xiv. 12 Rd, Num. xiii. 28 J. The text here seems to have suffered from expansions.

21. *to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah*] This implies that Joshua did not himself lead the pursuit beyond Makkēdah, but *v.* 20 says that he did. Probably, then, either *Joshua and v.* 20 or *to Joshua* here is a later addition. Moreover, the camp was

J tongue against any of the children of Israel. Then said 22
Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring forth
those five kings unto me out of the cave. And they did 23
so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of
the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the
king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon.
And it came to pass, when they brought forth those kings 24
unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel,
and said unto the chiefs of the men of war which went
with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of
these kings. And they came near, and put their feet
Rd upon the necks of them. | And Joshua said unto them, 25
Fear not, nor be dismayed; be strong and of good
courage: for thus shall the Lord do to all your enemies
J against whom ye fight. | And afterward Joshua smote 26
them, and put them to death, and hanged them on five
trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the
evening. And it came to pass at the time of the going 27
down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took
them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave
wherein they had hidden themselves, and laid great
Rp stones on the mouth of the cave, | unto this very day. |

at Gilgal, not Makkēdah; so it is likely that *to the camp* has also been added; the LXX. omits it.

moved his tongue] A figurative expression, occurring again only in Ex. xi. 7 J, where the subj. is *a dog*; here the subj. is (*no*) *man*, reading *'îsh* for *l'îsh* = *any of*.

24. *the men of Israel*] Cf. ix. 6 *n.*; LXX. *all Israel*.

the chiefs of the men of war] The word for *chiefs* (= Arab. *ḳādi*, cf. Jud. xi. 6, 11) is not found elsewhere in the Hexat. The phrase which follows is grammatically suspicious, and may be an intrusion: the text is somewhat overloaded as it stands.

put your feet upon the necks] A symbolic action represented in Assyrian and Egyptian sculptures; cf. 1 K. v. 3 [17], Ps. cx. 1, Is. li. 23.

25. From Rd; see i. 6, viii. 1 *n.*

26. The LXX. reads simply *And Joshua smote them and hanged them* etc., which may well be the original form of the text.

and hanged them] See viii. 29 *n.*

27. *and laid great stones*] Like the cairns mentioned in vii. 26, viii. 29.

unto this very day] A stronger form of the expression used in

28 And Joshua took Makkedah on that day, and smote R_D
it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof; he
[1]utterly destroyed them and all the souls that were
therein, he left none remaining: and he did to the king
of Makkedah as he had done unto the king of Jericho.

[1] Heb. *devoted.*

the last two references, and characteristic of P (see on v. 11); here a note added by R_P. The traditional burial-place of the five kings was pointed out in later ages.

The victory at Gibeon would naturally be followed by further enterprises. The broad fact that the S. of Canaan was the district first attacked by the Israelites is well supported by the traditions; but whatever historical details may lie behind *vv.* 28—43, the older sources tell a very different story from that which is given in this section. Here the conquest of the South is attributed to Joshua and all Israel; in Jud. i. 2—20, however, it is Judah and Simeon, with the minor clans of the Calebites and Kenites, who attempt to gain a footing in this part of the country. The towns mentioned here, Makkēdah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, were situated in *the valley* where Judah could not stand against the Canaanite chariots, Jud. i. 19; the defeat of the king of Gezer *v.* 33, and the capture of Hebron and Debir *vv.* 36—39, are contradicted by xv. 13–17, xvi. 10, Jud. i. 29, 10—13; so far from being exterminated, the Canaanites were more than able to hold their own, Jud. i. 19—35 etc. What we have here, then, is not history but a conventional view of the history which prevailed in later times. The stereotyped language contrasts vividly with that of the old narratives. A summary of the same kind is given in xi. 10—20, after the victory in the North.

28. *and the king thereof*] Omitted by the LXX. here and in *v.* 37.

he utterly destroyed] See on vi. 17, 21.

all the souls] So *vv.* 30 ff. This use of *soul* (*néphesh*) in the sense of person is characteristic of P. In *v.* 40, however, the Dtc. term *all that breathed* (*neshāmah* = *breathing thing* xi. 11, 14, Dt. xx. 16) occurs in the same connexion, and, as we learn from the LXX., originally stood in the text throughout this section. Later, therefore, than the Gk. translation, *soul* must have been substituted for *breathing thing*, except in *v.* 40, perhaps because the latter term was felt to be applicable only to human beings.

he left none remaining] Cf. viii. 22 *n.*

he did...as he had done] See on *v.* 1; cf. vi. 21.

RD And Joshua passed from Makkedah, and all Israel 29
with him, unto Libnah, and fought against Libnah: and 30
the LORD delivered it also, and the king thereof, into
the hand of Israel; and he smote it with the edge of the
sword, and all the souls that were therein; he left none
remaining in it; and he did unto the king thereof as he
had done unto the king of Jericho.

And Joshua passed from Libnah, and all Israel with 31
him, unto Lachish, and encamped against it, and fought
against it: and the LORD delivered Lachish into the hand 32
of Israel, and he took it on the second day, and smote it
with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were
therein, according to all that he had done to Libnah.

Then Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish; 33
and Joshua smote him and his people, until he had left
him none remaining.

29. *and all Israel with him*] See *v.* 15. This representation of a united Israel marching to victory under a single leader is not borne out by the earlier sources, e.g. Jud. i.

Libnah] is mentioned after Makkēdah in xv. 42, and after Hebron in xxi. 13; cf. 2 K. viii. 22, xix. 8. The site has not been discovered: it must have lain in the neighbourhood of Bēt Jibrin (= Eleutheropolis; *Onom.* 135, 26; 274, 13), and not very far from Lachish.

30. *the LORD delivered it...into the hand of*] See on *v.* 8.

31. *Lachish*] See on *v.* 3.

33. The monotony is here broken by what looks like an early piece of detail (cf. *v.* 4), which may once have belonged to a narrative of the gathering referred to in ix. 2.

Gezer] Now Tell Jezer, 750 feet, near the western end of the vale of Aijālon, eleven miles W. of Beth-horon, twenty-four miles N.W. of Lachish; xii. 12, xvi. 3, xxi. 21; see further the note on Jud. i. 29 C.B. The recent excavation of the site has revealed traces of its history from c. 3000 B.C. down to Roman times. An account of the valuable results obtained by the excavation will be found in Driver, *Schweich Lects.* (1909), pp. 46—80; or Handcock, *Latest Light on Bible Lands* (1913), pp. 209—230, *Archaeology of the Holy Land* (1916), *passim*[1].

smote him and his people...none remaining] Not necessarily,

[1] For the interesting Calendar-inscription discovered there in 1908—one of the very few ancient Hebr. inscriptions known—see Driver, *Samuel*[2], p. vii f.

34 And Joshua passed from Lachish, and all Israel with *RD*
him, unto Eglon; and they encamped against it, and
35 fought against it; and they took it on that day, and
smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that
were therein he [1]utterly destroyed that day, according
to all that he had done to Lachish.
36 And Joshua went up from Eglon, and all Israel with
37 him, unto Hebron; and they fought against it: and they
took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the
king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the souls
that were therein; he left none remaining, according
to all that he had done to Eglon; but he [1]utterly de-
stroyed it, and all the souls that were therein.
38 And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to
39 Debir; and fought against it: and he took it, and the
king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote
them with the edge of the sword, and [1]utterly destroyed
all the souls that were therein; he left none remaining:
as he had done to Hebron, so he did to Debir, and to the
king thereof; as he had done also to Libnah, and to the
king thereof.

[1] Heb. *devoted.*

of course, at Gezer; but this part of the verse is inconsistent with xvi. 10 JE, Jud. i. 29.

34. *Eglon*] See on *v.* 3. From Lachish (Tell el-Ḥesy) to Eglon (Tell 'Ajlān) is two miles.

36. *Hebron*] See on *v.* 3.

37. *and the king thereof*] Apparently the annalist who added this summary has forgotten that the king was put to death in *v.* 26. The LXX. omits the words (as well as *and all the cities thereof*) here and in *v.* 28, probably because they had not yet been inserted into the Hebr. text. A wholly different account of the capture of Hebron is given by the older source, xv. 14 = Jud. i. 10.

38. *Debir*] xi. 21, xii. 13, xv. 15 ff., 49, xxi. 15, Jud. i. 11 ff., has been identified with edh-Dhāhariyeh, c. twelve miles S.W. of Hebron, an important village on the main road from the latter place to Beer-sheba, but the identification is quite uncertain. Debir (of doubtful meaning, in 1 K. vi. 5 etc. *debîr = the hinder part* of the temple) was also called Kiriath-sepher xv. 15 = Jud. i. 11, or perhaps K.-sannah xv. 49. In the text as it stands Hebron and Debir are again overthrown by Joshua in xi. 21 RD, and by Caleb and Othniel in xv. 13—17 JE; cf. xiv. 12—14 RD, Jud. i. 10—13.

RD So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country, and 40
the South, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their
kings; he left none remaining: but he [1]utterly destroyed
all that breathed, as the LORD, the God of Israel, com-

[1] Heb. *devoted*.

40. *all the land*] Here described by the technical terms for its natural divisions: the southern half of Canaan is meant. For *the hill country* or Highlands, and *the lowland* i.e. the Shephēlah, see on ix. 1.

the South] Better *the Negeb* = *the dry land*, always of a particular district in the S. of Canaan; hence, among the Canaanites and the Israelites settled in Canaan, *negeb* acquired the secondary meaning "south." It was the name given to the steppe-region which forms the transition from the Highlands to the desert bounding the lower extremity of Palestine, a hilly, waterless district (see xv. 19), with pasture-ground in a wadi here and there (1 S. xxvii. 9 f), but generally inhospitable, and in conformation marked by steep ridges running East and West. On the N. the Negeb may be said to begin at a line passing through edh-Dhāhariyeh (supr. *v.* 38) eastwards to En-Rimmon (xv. 32, xix. 7, prob. = Ūmm er-Rumāmīn); towards the S. it stretched for some sixty miles, probably as far as Kadesh-barnea, though xi. 17, Num. xxxiv. 4 f. draw the line N. of the latter place. The list of towns in xv. 21—32, reckoned as belonging to the Negeb of Judah, indicates roughly the extent of the district[1].

the slopes] xii. 8, elsewhere in the expression *the slopes of Pisgah* xii. 3 RD, xiii. 20 P, Dt. iii. 17, iv. 49; the sing. occurs once, Num. xxi. 15 JE. Here the reference is probably to *the slopes* or *cliffs* of the Negeb and the Shephēlah, both W. and E. The meaning of the word (Hebr. *'ashēdōth*) is not certain: in Aram. the root means *to pour*, so the noun is explained as = a place where water pours down, i.e. *sloping sides*; possibly *waterfalls*, though a word with such a meaning would hardly be used in a topographical description; the rendering *springs*, R.V. m. xiii. 20, Dt. ll.cc., cannot be right. A different sense is obtained by connecting the word with the Assyr. *išdu* = *foundation*; then *the 'ashēdōth* will be *the bases* of the mountains; Vulg. in Dt. *radices*. In Josh. the Vulg. transliterates *Asedoth*, and the LXX. does the same both in Dt. and in Josh.

A similar description of the land by its physical features is repeated in xi. 2, 16, xii. 8 RD.

all that breathed] See *v.* 29 *n.*

as the LORD...commanded] Dt. vii. 2, xx. 16 f.

[1] The Negeb has recently been explored by Messrs Woolley and Lawrence, who have published, as the PEF. Annual for 1914—15,

41 manded. And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea R_D
even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even
42 unto Gibeon. And all these kings and their land did

41. *Ḳadesh-barnēa*] on the S. frontier of Judah (xv. 3, Num. xxxiv. 4), is the name specially used by the Dtc. writers, xiv. 6 f., Dt. i. 19 etc., for the place where the Hebrew tribes stayed after leaving Sinai until the fortieth year after the exodus, according to JE's narrative, Num. xx. 1 *b*, 14, 16, Jud. xi. 16 f.; En-mishpat was another name, Gen. xiv. 7. The locality is to be sought in the district round 'Ain Ḳadeis (or Ḳdēs), fifty miles S. of Beer-sheba[1].

Gaza] xi. 22, xiii. 3, xv. 47, Gen. x. 19 etc., in the S.W. of Palestine near the coast, the most southerly of the Philistine towns. As it stands at the point where the caravan routes meet from the Egyptian and Arabian deserts, Gaza has always been an important centre, and was inhabited long before the Philistines arrived: so we learn from the Egyptian lists of Thothmes III., and from the Amarna letters. In Hebr. the name is *'Azza*, with the hard *'ayin*, represented in Babylonian by *ḥ*, hence *Ḥazzati* (Am. Letters 182, 6; 185, 4. 20), in Greek by *g*, hence *Gaza*; now *Ghazzeh* or *Razzeh*.

the country of Goshen] To judge from xi. 16, *the country* lay between the Negeb and the Shephēlah, i.e. in S.W. Canaan. But the S.W. limits have been sufficiently indicated by Kadesh-barnea and Gaza; it is not unlikely, therefore, that *the country of Goshen* has slipped out of its proper place in *v.* 40; cf. xi. 16. There was a town called Goshen (xv. 51), in the S.W. of the hill country of Judah, which perhaps gave its name to the neighbourhood. The pronunciation may not be original; it may well have been assimilated to that of the Egyptian Goshen.

The limits of Joshua's conquests defined by Kadesh-barnea, Gaza, Gibeon cannot be historical; for the plain along the coast did not come into the possession of Israel till centuries later;

The Wilderness of Zin, a full description of this naked desert, its history, and its scanty remains of ancient occupation.

[1] Musil, *Arab. Petr.* II., *Edom* I., pp. 177—180, 236, doubts the identity of Kadesh with 'Ain Ḳadeis, and suggests a site further north. Messrs Woolley and Lawrence, l.c. ch. iv., make it clear that 'Ain Kadeis, with its single spring and tiny rivulet, could not have supported the Israelites during the years of their sojourn. Kadesh must have included the other springs and fairly fertile ground in the neighbourhood; the name was prob. given to the whole district some 20 m. round 'Ain Kadeis. Moreover, it is within this circle that the main routes to Egypt, Hebron, Ezion-geber and Elath converge, and journeys in all these directions are mentioned in connexion with Kadesh.

RD Joshua take at one time, because the LORD, the God of
Israel, fought for Israel. And Joshua returned, and all 43
Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.
J And it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor heard 11

according to the old story in Jud. xvi. 1—3, Gaza was in Philistine hands.

42. *at one time*] A rhetorical exaggeration. The Canaanites were not defeated in one great campaign; they were gradually absorbed by the more virile race which settled in their land.

fought for Israel] Cf. *v.* 14.

43. *Joshua...and all Israel with him*] points to RD; cf. *vv.* 29, 31, 34, 36, 38. See on *v.* 15; the LXX. omits.

4. *Battle at the Waters of Merom, and subjugation of the Northern Canaanites,* ch. xi.

The conquest of the South is followed by that of the North. In its arrangement ch. xi. follows the plan of ch. x.: thus *vv.* 1—9 correspond to x. 1—27, a decisive victory over an alliance of Canaanite chiefs leads to the subjugation of half the country; *vv.* 10—15 are the counterpart of x. 28—39, after the victory comes the destruction of cities, though here only one city, Hazor, is mentioned by name; *vv.* 16—20, like x. 40—42, review the total gains, in this case all the conquests recorded in chs. ix.—xi. A note on the Anākim, in whom RD seems to take a peculiar interest, is added in *vv.* 21, 22. Then the conquest of the land is completed to the satisfaction of the editor, and all is ready for the tribes to enter on their possessions, ch. xiii.

The ch. consists of generalizations in the familiar style of RD. A fragment of history, however, forms the starting-point; it is preserved in *vv.* 1—9, in the main from J, like the similar account in x. 1, 3 ff. The tradition of a struggle with Jabin king of Hazor in the North also lies behind the narrative of Jud. iv. 1—16; but RD here has magnified it after his manner into a campaign carried out by Joshua and all Israel for the possession of N. Canaan.

It is worth noticing that the three accounts of the capture of Hebron and Debir which are assigned to RD, viz. x. 36—39, xi. 21 f., xiv. 12 f., all differ from one another; this shews that the Dtc. revision was the work, not of a single writer, but of a school, representing a variety of views on certain details.

1. *And it came to pass, when...heard*] Cf. x. 1. *Jabin king of Hazor* appears again in Jud. iv. 2 ff., in what seems to be a variant of the present tradition. Common to both is the recollection of a struggle between Israelites and Canaanites in the N., near the lake of Ḥūleh. In Jud. iv. Jabin is called *king of Canaan*, as though Canaan were an organized kingdom under a single head; here, more in keeping with the conditions of the time, he

thereof, that he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to *J*
2 the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, | and *RD*
to the kings that were on the north, in the hill country,

reigns over a city and a district; at the same time he holds a position of preeminence among the other chiefs; cf. *v.* 10 and x. 1, 3 ff. *Hazor* (xii. 19, 1 K. ix. 15) comes in the list of Thothmes III., no. 32, *Ḥuzara*, and is mentioned as a royal city in the Amarna tablets (154, 41): it lay near Kedesh in Naphtali (xix. 36 f., 2 K. xv. 29), and to the S. of it (1 Macc. xi. 63, 67). The name is preserved in Jebel Ḥadīreh = "sheep-fold," and Merj el-Ḥadīreh W. of lake Ḥūleh; but the site is doubtful. Tell Khureibeh 1680 feet, 2½ miles S. of Kedesh, and Ḥarra, two miles further to the E., have been suggested.

Madon] xii. 19; not known. Madin below the Horns of Ḥaṭṭin, W. of the Sea of Galilee, recalls the name. The LXX. gives *Marron*, possibly the village five miles S.W. of Kedesh.

Shimron] In xii. 20 Shimron-meron, assigned to Zebulun xix. 15. In each case the LXX. writes *Sumoōn*, ? = Simonias (Jos., *Life* 24; Midr. *Ber. R.* § 81), now Semūniyeh, five miles W. of Nazareth. Nearer to the biblical name is es-Semīriyeh, on the coast, a little N. of 'Akkā.

Achshaph] "sorcery," xii. 20, xix. 25 (in Asher); site unknown. If Achshaph here be identified with the ruined Iksāf, N.W. of Jebel Hūnīn (N.W. of lake Ḥūleh), it must be distinguished from the Achshaph of xix. 25. An *Aksap* is mentioned in the list of Thothmes III. among towns in the W. of the Great Plain: there may have been several places of this name.

2. This enumeration of the physical features of the country, and the list of native races in *v.* 3, come from RD; cf. *v.* 16, x. 40 *n.*, xii. 8. *on the north*, i.e. of Palestine; LXX. "towards Great Zidon," by confusion with the Hebr. word for *north* and the expression in *v.* 8 *the hill country* must mean the hills of Galilee, cf. xx. 7. *the Arabah south of Chinneroth*, i.e. the Jordan valley S. of Kinaroth or Kinnéreth, which is either the town on the plain to the N.W. of the lake (xix. 35), or the lake which took its name from the town (xii. 3, xiii. 27, Num. xxxiv. 11, 1 K. xv. 20); probably the latter, as this *v.* is concerned with physical features. For *Kinnéreth* alone referring to the lake cf. Dt. iii. 17. But the rendering *south of* is grammatically dubious, and we should read with the LXX., changing one letter, *over against*: the reference will then be to the Jordan valley near the lake of Galilee, including the plain on the N.W. where Kinnéreth stood[1]. Both the plain and the lake were called by

[1] Mentioned in the list of places in Palestine conquered by Thothmes III.; *Records of the Past* v., no. 34; Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 84 *n.*

*R*D and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the low- 2
land, and in [1]the heights of Dor on the west, to the 3
Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite,
and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in
the hill country, and the Hivite under Hermon in the
J land of Mizpah. | And they went out, they and all their 4
hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is
upon the sea shore in multitude, with horses and chariots
very many. And all these kings met together; and they 5

[1] Or, *Naphoth Dôr*

the later Jews Gennēsar (1 Macc. xi. 67; Jos., *War* iii. 10, 8; Targ.) or Gennēsaret (Mt. xiv. 34, Mk vi. 53 etc.).

the lowland] Better *the Shephēlah* ix. 1 *n.*, x. 40 etc. In the present context, however, *the Shephēlah* must mean, not the low hills and plains in the S.W. of Judah, but the corresponding district in the S.W. of Galilee, N. of Carmel; so in *v.* 16 *b*.

the heights of Dor] Naphoth Dor (R.V. m.), in xii. 23, 1 K. iv. 11 Naphath Dor, = the elevation, or hilly region to the E. of Dor, and perhaps under its control. Dor, more correctly D'or xvii. 11, as in Assyr. and Phoen., was a city of some importance on account of its harbour, sixteen miles S. of Carmel; Egyptian, Assyrian, and Phoenician documents from the twelfth to the third cent. B.C. refer to it[1]. The modern name is Ṭanṭūra.

3. *the Canaanite on the east and on the west*] i.e. in the Arābah and on the coast; cf. v. 1 RD. Num. xiii. 29 E, Dt. xi. 30.

For the list of nations see iii. 10 *n.*

the Hivite under Hermon] Elsewhere the Hivites inhabit the centre of Canaan, ix. 7, Gen. xxxiv. 2; whereas the district under Hermon in the North belonged to the Hittites (Jud. i. 26). Accordingly here and in Jud. iii. 3 we should follow the LXX. and read *the Hittite*. For the Hittites see i. 3 *n.*

the land of Mizpah] = *the valley of Mizpeh v.* 8. The name (= *place of outlook*) was given to several places; this Mizpah, below mount Hermon, has been identified with the height (2486 feet) on which stand the ruins of the Saracenic castle Ḳal'at es-Ṣubēbeh, two miles E. of Bāniās (Buhl, *Geogr.*, p. 240); *the land* or *valley of M.* (*v.* 8) will then be the wide depression which reaches from below this height to the lake of Ḥūleh.

4. The language of this verse recalls that of J in x. 5 *b*, and in Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 12, cf. Jud. vii. 12 etc.

[1] See Dahl, *Materials for the History of Dor* (Yale Univ. Press, 1915), pp. 21 ff., 41 ff.

came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to *J*
6 fight with Israel. And the LORD said unto Joshua, Be
not afraid because of them: for to-morrow at this time
will I deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt
hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire.
7 So Joshua came, and all the people of war with him,
against them by the waters of Merom suddenly, and
8 fell upon them. | And the LORD delivered them into the *RD*
hand of Israel, | and they smote them, and chased them *J*
unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto

5. *the waters of Merom*] Only again in *v.* 7; since Reland (1714), commonly identified with the lake of Ḥūleh; but the expression *waters of* is more naturally applied to a well or a stream than to a lake, although in 1 Macc. xi. 67 we find *the water of Gennesar*. Some have looked for the scene of the battle between Mērōn, about four miles N.W. of Safed, and Kefr Bir'im; it may be questioned, however, whether horses and chariots could have been used in such a hilly district, moreover the water in the W. Mērōn is too insignificant to have given its name to the place. Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1, 18, names a town Beroth or Meroth near Kedesh in Upper Galilee, probably guessing from the *Marron* of the LXX. and Pesh., a form which induces the *Onom.* (278, 99) to think of Marim, twelve Roman miles N. of Sebaste, near Dothain (Tell Dōtān). The fact is, the site of the battle cannot be ascertained.

6. *Be not afraid...deliver them up...before*] Dtc. phrases; cf. viii. 1, x. 8.

to-morrow at this time] Cf. Ex. ix. 18 J and ch. iii. 5 *n.*

thou shalt hough their horses] i.e. cut their hamstrings, a barbarity practised in ancient warfare (cf. Gen. xlix. 6. 2 S. viii. 4 = 1 Chr. xviii. 4), which here receives divine sanction. Horses and chariots were not to be captured and taken into use; the Israelites have Jehovah to help them; cf. Ps. xx. 7. The verb *to hough* comes from the noun *hough*, generally spelt *hock* (from the Anglo-Saxon *hóh* = heel), = the joint in the hind-leg between the knee and fetlock; thus "the camel's hough" 2 Esdr. xv. 36 ARV.

7. Cf. viii. 1, x. 7, 9 J.

8. *delivered them into the hand of*] Cf. x. 8 and vi. 2 *n.*

The narrative is closely modelled on that of the battle with the Canaanites in the South. As in x. 10 a long pursuit follows, in this case all the way to *Great Zidon*, a distance of thirty-five or forty miles, and to *Misrephoth-maim*, somewhere in the Zidonian territory (xiii. 6), and in the opposite direction to *the valley of Mizpeh* under Hermon (*v.* 3 *n.*), some twenty-five miles to the N.E. It is difficult to believe that Joshua followed the Canaanites

RD the valley of Mizpeh eastward; | and they smote them,
J until they left them none remaining. | And Joshua did 9
unto them as the LORD bade him: he houghed their
horses, and burnt their chariots with fire. |
RD And Joshua turned back at that time, and took Hazor, 10
and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor
beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms. And 11
they smote all the souls that were therein with the edge
of the sword, [1]utterly destroying them: there was none
left that breathed: and he burnt Hazor with fire. And 12
all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them,
did Joshua take, and he smote them with the edge of
the sword, and [1]utterly destroyed them; as Moses the
servant of the LORD commanded. But as for the cities 13
that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them,

[1] Heb. *devoting*.

right into Phoenician territory, which lay quite outside the hostile area (*vv.* 1, 2). *Great Zidon* cf. xix. 28, perhaps by way of distinction from a *Little Zidon*; Sennacherib, in the inscription which describes his campaign against Judah in 701 B.C., mentions *Sidon the great, Sidon the less* (Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the O.T.*, p. 340). The name *Misrĕphoth-maim* suggests either hot springs or smelting works (? for glass) near the sea; a name somewhat like it, 'Ain Meshĕrefeh, is found near the coast, thirty-eight miles S. of Zidon, just below Ras en-Naḳūra; this seems too far S. to suit the connexion with Zidon in xiii. 6.

they left them none remaining] Cf. x. 28 RD, viii. 22 *n.*

Vv. 10—15 consist of little more than generalizations in the manner of RD; cf. the similar passage in ch. x., *vv.* 28—39.

10. *for Hazor beforetime was the head*] See on *v.* 1; a note characteristic of RD, cf. xiv. 15, xv. 15, Jud. i. 11; Dt. ii. 10, 12, 20.

11. *all the souls*] As in x. 28, the LXX. reads *all that breathed*.

utterly destroying...that breathed] So *v.* 14, x. 40.

13. *the cities that stood on their mounds*] Cf. Jer. xxx. 18. A mound or *tell*, the word used here as in modern Arabic, was generally chosen for the site of a city; many such mounds are scattered over Palestine, some still inhabited. A few, such as Tell el-Ḥesy, Tell Jezer, Tell Ta'annek, Tell el-Mutesellim, have been excavated in recent times, and found to contain many strata of successive occupations one above another. It is not obvious why the cities that stood on their mounds were spared; was it because their natural or artificial elevation afforded some

14 save Hazor only; that did Joshua burn. And all the *RD*
spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the children of Israel
took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they
smote with the edge of the sword, until they had de-
15 stroyed them, neither left they any that breathed. As
the LORD commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses
command Joshua: and so did Joshua; [1]he left nothing
undone of all that the LORD commanded Moses.
16 So Joshua took all that land, the hill country, and all
the South, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland,
and the Arabah, and the hill country of Israel, and the

[1] Heb. *he removed nothing.*

protection which the Israelites could strengthen for themselves? More probably the Israelites did not burn these cities because they were not able to do so; cf. the frank admissions in Jud. i. 19, 21, 27, 29, 31, 33. In other words the conquest of the North was largely incomplete.

14. The Israelites are represented as carrying out the precedent set in Dt. ii. 35, iii. 7; cf. ch. viii. 2 *n.* The LXX. with less exaggeration makes the verse refer only to Hazor, reading "and all the spoil thereof."

15. The command to execute the measures described in *vv.* 12—15 is given in Dt. xx. 12—18, cf. vii. 1—3, and defended as a precaution against the degrading influences of the native population. We have the consolation of knowing from the earlier historical sources that this barbarous policy was never actually carried out; it was merely an ideal cherished by the Dtc. school. At the time when Dt. xx. 12 ff. was written there were no Canaanites to exterminate, for they had gradually become absorbed into Israel. At the same time we have to account for the existence of the Dtc. ideal. It is explained by (1) the long-standing hatred of the Hebrews for the Canaanites, the natural repugnance of a healthy-minded race towards a debased civilization, see Gen. ix. 25 f., and ch. ix. 21 *n.*; (2) the constant danger of corruption from Canaanite practices, which the prophets realized quite as strongly as the Dtc. writers, see 1 K. xviii. 21; Hos. ii. 13, iv. 13, viii. 5 f., x. 5, xi. 2, xiii. 1 f.; Is. i. 29, ii. 8; Jer. iii. 6—12, ix. 14, xi. 12 f.; Ezek. xvi. Moreover we must beware of judging ancient morality by Christian standards.

In *vv.* 16—23 RD reviews the entire series of Joshua's conquests in S. and N. Canaan recorded in ch. ix.—xi. 15.

16. For the description of *all* **this** *land*, i.e. Canaan, by its natural features see x. 40, 41 *n.*

the hill country of Israel] i.e. that part of the Central Range

*R*D lowland of the same; from [1]mount Halak, that goeth up 17
to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under
mount Hermon: and all their kings he took, and smote
them, and put them to death. Joshua made war a long 18
time with all those kings. There was not a city that made 19
peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the
inhabitants of Gibeon: they took all in battle. For it 20
was of the LORD to [2]harden their hearts, to come against

[1] Or, *the bare mountain* [2] Heb. *make strong*.

which fell within the kingdom of N. Israel (*v.* 21, cf. xv. 48 *n.*); between it and the coast lay *the lowland*, or *Shephēlah, of the same* (*v.* 2).

17. *mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir*] xii. 7, the southern limit of Joshua's conquests, far down in the Negeb, and no doubt near *the ascent of Akrabbin*, which marked a curve in the southern boundary of Canaan, Num. xxxiv. 4. The *mount Ḥalaḳ*, lit. *the bare mountain* R.V. m., was situated probably at a point less than half way between Kadesh-barnea and Beer-sheba, and to the E. of a line drawn between the two. In 1897 Prof. A. Musil heard the name *Jebel Ḥalāḳ* given to a naked height or ridge which rises to the N. of the Wadi el-Marra, a continuation westwards of the Wadi el-Fiḳreh (*Arabia Petraea*, 1907, II. I, p. 170 f.). From this point the hilly table-land ascends towards Mt Seir in the S.E.

even unto Baal-gad] xii. 7, xiii. 5, the northern limit of Joshua's conquests. Though its position is indicated generally as being *in the valley of Lebanon*, i.e. the Merj 'Ayūn, the wide opening between Lebanon and Hermon, yet the actual site cannot be determined. Bāniās has been suggested: this agrees with *under mount Hermon*, but not with *in the valley of Lebanon*, nor with *unto the entering in of Hamath* xiii. 5. The name points to the local worship of *Baal* as the god of *fortune* (*gad*).

18. *a long time*] Lit. *many days*; cf. xxii. 3, xxiii. 1 RD, xxiv. 7. According to x. 42 RD the subjugation of the South at any rate was accomplished in a single campaign; but xiv. 7, 10 RD implies that Joshua's wars lasted either five or seven years. The Dtc. editors are not consistent; the present *v.*, however, comes nearer to the facts as represented by J, e.g. Jud. ii. 23 *a*, iii. 2.

19. *save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon*] ix. 7, looks like a clause added by some scrupulous editor to qualify the generalities in which RD deals; it is omitted by the LXX. For *made peace with* cf. x. 1, 4.

20. *it was of the LORD to harden their hearts*] Similarly the Lord *hardened the heart* of Pharaoh in order to shew His signs in

Israel in battle, that he might [1]utterly destroy them, *R*ᴰ
that they [2]might have no favour, but that he might
destroy them, as the LORD commanded Moses.
21 And Joshua came at that time, and cut off the Anakim

[1] Heb. *devote.* [2] Or, *might not sue for favour*

the midst of the Egyptians, Ex. iv. 21, vii. 3, x. 1 etc. "The Hebrews, with their vivid sense of God's sovereignty, were in the habit of referring things done by man to the direct operation of God." They were not sensible of the moral difficulty which we feel in attributing this hardening to God. There can be nothing arbitrary, however, in God's action; He does not harden those whose hearts are turned towards Him, but only those who have deserved hardening by their own wilfulness, as in the case of Pharaoh, or by their degradation and idolatry, as in the case of the Canaanites. See Driver, *Exodus*, p. 53 f.

The language of this *v.* shews that idioms, not characteristic of D, were being adopted by writers of the Dtc. school. Thus the phrase *to harden*, lit. *make strong, the heart* is used by E and P in Exodus, e.g. Ex. iv. 21 E, vii. 13, 22, ix. 12 P, while D chooses a different verb which = lit. *make obstinate, the heart*, Dt. ii. 30, xv. 7. Also instead of the usual formula (see *v.* 23), RD here writes *as the LORD commanded Moses*, which is P's favourite expression.

While here the extirpation of the Canaanites is traced to the working of the doom which hardened their hearts, in x. 42 Joshua's victories are explained simply by the assertion that Jehovah fought for Israel. It is clear that several writers of the Dtc. school took part in the Dtc. revision, and that no attempt was made to harmonize their views. How they differ in details has been pointed out above on *v.* 18 and p. 99: the same thing occurs again in *vv.* 21—23.

that they might have no favour] shewn to them by Israel; only besides in Ezr. ix. 8. As a rule the word rendered *favour* means *supplication for favour*, e.g. 1 K. viii. 28 etc.; hence R.V. m.

but that he might destroy them] See on *v.* 15.

Vv. 21—23 do not agree with other Dtc. passages. Thus in x. 36, 38 the conquest of Hebron and Debir is recorded, but nothing is said about the Anākim; in xiv. 12 they are driven out by Caleb, here by Joshua. The present summary must have been added by a different writer of the Dtc. school.

21. *Joshua...cut off the Anakim*] The statement is apparently based on the ancient narrative preserved in xv. 14 J. The *'Anāḳim*, or (*long-*)*necked* people, were a race of very tall men, especially associated with Hebron; the memory of them survived for centuries in the land, Dt. i. 28, ix. 2. Sometimes they are called *the sons* or *the children of the 'Anāḳ*, e.g. xv. 14, the art.

Rd from the hill country, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the hill country of Judah, and from all the hill country of Israel: Joshua [1]utterly destroyed them with their cities. There was none of the Anakim 22
left in the land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, did some remain. So Joshua 23
took the whole land, according to all that the LORD spake unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land had rest from war.

[1] Heb. *devoted.*

shewing that *the 'Anāḳ* was the name of a tribe, not of an individual.

at that time] During the *many days* spoken of in *v.* 18.

Anab] xv. 50, now a ruin, still called 'Anāb, fourteen miles S.W. of Hebron, and near edh-Dhāhariyeh (see on xv. 15). It is mentioned as Ḳart-'anabu in the Egypt. papyrus Anastasi I. (time of Ramses II. c. 1292—1225), and in the Amarna letters (237, 26).

22. The Anākim were left only in the Philistine country; cf. 1 S. xvii. 4. For *Gaza* see x. 41 *n.* *Gath* xiii. 3 was perhaps situated at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh, twelve miles S.E. of Ashdod, where recent excavations have brought to light pottery of Philistine character (*PEFQSt.* 1899, 1900). Gath was the easternmost of the Philistine cities, and inland from Ashdod (1 S. v. 8, xvii. 52 LXX.). It remained Philistine at least to the time of Amos (Am. vi. 2), but is not mentioned later than Mic. i. 10; probably it lost importance or disappeared after the eighth cent. B.C.

Ashdod] xiii. 3, xv. 47, 1 Sam. v. 1 ff., in Greek *Azōtus* Acts viii. 40, now Esdūd, about half way between Joppa and Gaza, near the sea, and on the road from Egypt to Syria. Though assigned to Judah in xv. 47, Ashdod always remained an independent Philistine town, so far as we know. The Tartan of Sargon besieged the city c. 711 B.C. (Is. xx. 1), and Herodotus (II. 157) tells of a siege by Psammetichus in the seventh cent. B.C., which lasted twenty-nine years; it must have been a strongly fortified place.

23. all *the land*] Cf. *v.* 16. The conquest is said to be complete, and the land is distributed among the Israelites *according to their divisions* (xii. 7, xviii. 10 Rd), *by their tribes* (Dt. i. 13, 15, xvi. 18; also Num. xxiv. 2, Josh. vii. 14, 16 J); but in xiii. 6 the Dtc. writer speaks as if the distribution had not yet been begun. With .. *for an inheritance* cf. xiii. 6 and see *n.*

And the land had rest] The concluding Dtc. formula, xiv. 15, Jud. iii. 11 etc.

12 Now these are the kings of the land, whom the children R_D
of Israel smote, and possessed their land beyond Jordan
toward the sunrising, from the valley of Arnon unto
2 mount Hermon, and all the Arabah eastward: Sihon
king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon, and ruled
from Aroer, which is on the edge of the valley of Arnon,

5. *List of the kings defeated on the E. and W. of Jordan*, ch. xii.

This chapter furnishes a list of details supplementary to the general statement in xi. 23, and is due to some writer of the Dtc. school other than the writer of xi. 23. The passage dealing with the kings on the E. of Jordan, *vv.* 1—6, is based on the narrative of Dt. ii. and iii., which again goes back to JE's record in Num. xxi. In the list of kings on the W. of Jordan, *vv.* 7—24, the writer follows the order of Joshua's victories, and gives fifteen names which have been mentioned before (vi., viii., x. 3, 28 ff., xi. 1); whence he obtained the remaining sixteen is not known; the total of thirty-one (*v.* 24), however, is to be reduced to thirty by a necessary correction in *v.* 18. The LXX. makes the total twenty-nine (in LXX. *v.* 14 *the king of Airath* and *the king of Arath* are doublets), and shews some variations from M.T.

1. *beyond Jordan toward the sunrising*] Cf. i. 15 *n*. The geographical particulars in this *v.* come from Dt. iv. 47, 49, iii. 8.

the **torrent**-*valley of Arnon*] On the E. of the Dead Sea, and half way down its eastern side. The river flows at the bottom of a deep valley, which abruptly cleaves the wide table-land to the N. and S. of it, and starts from a point some twenty miles E. of the Dead Sea. This decisive natural feature marked the boundary between the kingdom of Sihon on the N. and the land of Moab on the S., Num. xxi. 13.

2. *Sihon...Heshbon*] From Dt. iii. 2; cf. Num. xxi. 26, 34, Jud. xi. 19. Sihon's capital is now represented by the ruined site Ḥesbān (2870 feet), finely placed among the mountains, sixteen miles N.E. of the Dead Sea. According to Num. xxi. 26 Heshbon belonged to Moab before it was captured by Sihon; as a Moabite city it is referred to in Is. xv. 4, xvi. 8 f. etc.; ch. xiii. 17 P assigns it to Reuben. This part of the country continually changed hands during Israelite history.

Arōer...Arnon] From Dt. ii. 36, cf. iii. 12. The description exactly agrees with the position of a heap of ruins called 'Arā'ir, on the N. edge of the Arnon ravine, "just overhanging the brow" (Tristram, *Moab*, pp. 129 ff.). Mesha in his inscription claims to have fortified Arōer (Moabite Stone, l. 26), which is mentioned again in xiii. 9, 16.

RD and *the city that is in* the middle of the valley, and half Gilead, even unto the river Jabbok, the border of the children of Ammon; and the Arabah unto the sea of 3 Chinneroth, eastward, and unto the sea of the Arabah, even the Salt Sea, eastward, the way to Beth-jeshimoth; and on the south, under the slopes of Pisgah: and the border 4

and the city that is in *the middle of the valley*] The R.V. supplies the missing words from xiii. 9 and Dt. ii. 36; they should be restored to the Hebr. text. What city is meant can only be conjectured; perhaps it was Ar, the capital of Moab, Dt. ii. 9 etc.

and half Gilead] Gilead (prob. = *hard, strong*) is the name given generally to the rugged, picturesque country E. of the Jordan, occupied by the Israelites, e.g. xxii. 9, 13, 15, 32, Num. xxxii. 26. The name was not used in any narrow or merely local sense; but when the Hebr. writers speak deliberately they mean by Gilead the country between the Yarmuk in the N. (S.E. of the Sea of Galilee) and the Arnon in the S., e.g. 1 K. iv. 19, 2 K. x. 33. This district is divided into two by the great trench of the Jabbok, now Nahr ez-Zerḳā; hence the expression *half Gilead*, which may denote either the southern half, from the Arnon to the Jabbok, the kingdom of Sihon afterwards allotted to Reuben and Gad (so here and *v.* 5, Dt. iii. 12); or the northern half, from the Jabbok to the Yarmuk, the kingdom of Og which half-Manasseh took over (xiii. 31, Dt. iii. 13). The name *Gilead* by itself is also used for one or other of these halves, as the context determines; thus xiii. 25 (?), Num. xxxii. 1, 29 refer to the southern half alone, while xvii. 1, 5 f., Dt. ii. 36, iii. 15 f. refer to the northern. Occasionally the two parts together are called *all Gilead*, Dt. iii. 10, 2 K. x. 33.

the border of the children of Ammon] The river Jabbok rises to the S. of Rabbath-ammon, now 'Ammān, and flows in a northerly direction for some distance; then it curves round to the W., and so winds its way down to the Jordan. It is the first stage of the river's course, from S. to N., that formed *the border of the sons of Ammon* (cf. Dt. iii. 16), who lived to the E. of the district between the Arnon and the Jabbok; cf. xiii. 25, Num. xxi. 24.

3. *the Arābah unto the sea of Chinnĕroth*] Cf. xi. 2 *n.* The whole *v.* is based on Dt. iii. 17.

the sea of the Arābah, even the Salt Sea] Cf. iii. 16 *n.*

Beth-jeshīmoth] xiii. 20, Num. xxxiii. 49, Ezek. xxv. 9, Jos., *War* iv. 7, 6 (Besimo), probably Khirbet es-Suweimeh, 1½ miles N.E. of the Dead Sea.

the slopes of Pisgah] xiii. 20, Dt. iii. 17, iv. 49. From Dt. xxxiv. 1 it appears that Pisgah was another name, or perhaps a more exact definition, of Nebo (cf. Dt. iii. 27 with xxxii. 49),

of Og king of Bashan. of the remnant of the Rephaim, *Rd*
5 who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, and ruled in mount

and the situation of the latter is tolerably certain. Upon one of the ridges which descend from the plateau N.E. of the Dead Sea to the Jordan valley is a flat top which still bears the name *Nebā* (2643 feet above the Mediterranean), five miles S.W. of Ḥesbān; Pisgah was probably the ancient name of the entire ridge. For *the slopes* see on x. 40.

4. *the border of Og king of Bashan*] For this and the foll. *v.* see Dt. iii. 3 f., 10 f. The writer set out to name the kings on the E. of Jordan (*v.* 1); but in his zeal for geography he forgets how he started. The LXX. improves the grammatical structure of the passage by omitting *the border of*. The kingdom of Og included both the northern half of Gilead, from the Jabbok to the Yarmuk, and *Bashan*, i.e. the country N. of the Yarmuk to the foot of *mount Hermon*, bounded on the W. by the territory of *the Geshurites and the Maacathites* (cf. xiii. 11, Dt. iii. 14), probably the modern Jaulān, E. of the upper Jordan; and on the E. by the imposing mass of Jebel Ḥaurān, "the mountain of many peaks" celebrated in Ps. lxviii. 15 f. The chief part of *the Bashan* (? = *the fertile* land) consisted of the district now called en-Nuḳra, a broad, rolling prairie of rich soil, 1800—2000 feet above the sea, famous in the O.T. for its pasturage (Jer. l. 19, Mic. vii. 14), its herds of cattle (Am. iv. 1, Ezek. xxxix. 18, Ps. xxii. 12), and, on the slopes of J. Ḥaurān, its evergreen oaks (Is. ii. 13, Ezek. xxvii. 6, Zech. xi. 2). Of the three cities of Bashan mentioned here, *Ashtāroth* (ix. 10; cf. xxi. 27), called after Astartē the principal native goddess, may be identified either with Tell 'Ashterah, twenty-three miles due E. of the middle of the lake of Galilee, or with Tell 'Ash'ari five miles lower down[1]; *Edrei* is now represented by Der'āt, about sixteen miles S.E. of Tell 'Ashterah, and *Salĕcah* or *Salkah*, a frontier fortress (xiii. 10), by Salḫat, overlooking the desert S.E. of Bashan and S. of J. Ḥaurān. In the first cent. A.D. Salḫat and the neighbouring city of Bostra were important places in the Nabataean kingdom; see *NSI.*, pp. 252 ff.

of the remnant of the Rephaim] xiii. 12, Dt. iii. 11. The Rephāim were a race of giants, like the Anākim (Dt. ii. 11), belonging to the original inhabitants, like the Perizzites (xvii. 15, Gen. xv. 20). Their settlements were mostly on the E. of the Jordan, though they left traces of themselves in other parts of Palestine, e.g. in the name *the vale of Rephaim* near Jerusalem,

[1] Eusebius and Jerome describe two places called Astaroth-karnaim (cf. Gen. xiv. 5), but their statements do not exactly fit either or both of the sites proposed above; *Onom.* 209, 61 and 84, 5; 268, 98 and 108, 17. See G. A. Smith, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 335 f.

Rd Hermon, and in Salecah, and in all Bashan, unto the
border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, and half
Gilead, the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. Moses 6
the servant of the Lord and the children of Israel smote
them: and Moses the servant of the Lord gave it for a
possession unto the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and
the half tribe of Manasseh.

And these are the kings of the land whom Joshua and 7
the children of Israel smote beyond Jordan westward,
from Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto
mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir; and Joshua gave
it unto the tribes of Israel for a possession according to
their divisions; in the hill country, and in the lowland, 8
and in the Arabah, and in the slopes, and in the wilder-
ness, and in the South; the Hittite, the Amorite, and
the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite:

xv. 8, xviii. 16, 2 S. v. 18, 22 etc. The LXX. here and elsewhere translates the word by *giants*, sometimes by *Titans* (2 S. v. 18, 22 etc.). Legends of early giants may well have arisen, in part, from the contemplation of ancient ruins and supposed gigantic tombs (W. R. Smith in Driver, *Deut.*, p. 40). There must be some connexion between *Rephāim* = extinct *giants* and the same word used for *the shades* of the dead (both Phoen. and Hebr., e.g. Is. xiv. 9). *Rephāim* = *shades* is supposed to mean lit. *the weak ones*, a sense which does not suit *the giants*. The root denotes *sinking, relaxing*: common to the two different usages of the noun may be the idea of shadowy or vaguely known existence; this, however, is quite uncertain.

6. *gave it for a possession*] Cf. i. 15, Dt. iii. 12—17. For *the Reubenites* etc. see i. 12 *n.*

7. *the kings of the land*] The LXX. reads *kings of the Amorites*, perhaps on the strength of x. 5 *a*, 6 *b*; but *the land* is the proper antecedent of *gave it* at the end of the verse. Thirty-one, or rather, thirty kings are counted in the list which follows; xxiv. 12, however, mentions *the twelve kings of the Amorites* (correcting with LXX. *the two* of M.T.). If this is right, Rd must have expanded the *twelve* to *thirty*.

from Baal-gad] See xi. 17 *n.*, where the course of the conquest is traced from S. to N.; here from N. to S.

according to their divisions] Cf. xi. 23.

8. For the natural features of the land cf. x. 40 *n.*; *the wilderness*, i.e. of Judah (xv. 61), is a detail added here. For the list of the nations see ix. 1 *n.*

9 the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai, which is beside *RD*
10 Beth-el, one; the king of Jerusalem, one; the king of
11 Hebron, one; the king of Jarmuth, one; the king of
12 Lachish, one; the king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer,
13 one; the king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one; the
14 king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one; the king of
15 Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one; the king of

9. *the king of Jericho, one*] A primitive way of counting: the figures do not grow with the items, each king is numbered one, and the total reckoned at the end.

The list follows generally the order of Joshua's conquests as given in the present book. First come Jericho and Ai (vi., vii. f.); then in *vv.* 10—12 *a* the kings defeated in the great battle for the South (x. 3); then in *vv.* 12 *b*—16 *a* those mentioned in the summary, x. 28—39, together with several who do not appear there (*vv.* 16 *b*—18); lastly, in *vv.* 19—20 the kings who took part in the struggle for the North (xi. 1 f.), again with additions, *vv.* 21—24.

Ai, which is beside Beth-el] See vii. 2 *n.*

13. *Geder*] Site unknown. Names like this occur elsewhere, Gedērah xv. 36, Gedēroth xv. 41, Gēdor xv. 58. The word, = *wall, fence*, may have been given originally to a sheep-fold.

14. *Ḥormah*] The name, like Ḥermon, Ḥōrēm (xix. 38), marked no doubt a *holy* or *inviolable place* (cf. *ḥérem*); it suggested, however, a different meaning, and according to Num. xxi. 3 JE Ḥormah was so called because the Israelites *devoted* the place after a repulse at Arad; according to Jud. i. 17 it was *devoted* by Judah and Simeon; in Num. xiv. 45 JE, again, it is said to have been the scene of a repulse of the Israelites at the hands of the Canaanites, and the episode is placed at an earlier stage of the history. Various traditions, in fact, were associated with Ḥormah, all differing from one another, and impossible to reconcile. In xv. 30 the place belongs to Judah, in xix. 4 to Simeon. Further, Jud. i. 17 declares that its former name was Zephath, while Num. xxi. 1—3 implies that it was Arad: in the present verse Ḥormah and Arad are two distinct cities. The latter name survives in Tell 'Arād, 16½ miles S. of Hebron.

15. *Adullam*] lay in the Shephēlah, and comes between Jarmuth and Socoh (= Kh. Shuweikeh) in xv. 35, and is associated with Marēshah (= Merāsh, near Bēt Jibrīn) in Mic. i. 15; hence we may look for the site somewhere between the neighbourhood of Bēt Jibrīn and Kh. Shuweikeh. About three miles S.E. of the latter on a steep hill is a ruin called 'Īd-el-mā, which M. Clermont-Ganneau in 1871 proposed to identify with 'Adullām —a plausible suggestion. The chief interest of Adullam lies in its connexion with David, 1 S. xxii. 1, 2 S. v. 17, 'who twice

RD Makkedah, one; the king of Beth-el, one; the king of 17
Tappuah, one; the king of Hepher, one; the king of 18
Aphek, one; the king of Lassharon, one; the king of 19
Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one; the king of Shimron- 20
meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one; the king of 21
Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; the king of 22

found a shelter in its *stronghold* (to be read instead of *cave* in 1 S. xxii. 1, 2 S. xxiii. 13). When David took refuge there the place lay outside the land of Judah; hence the statement that Joshua smote its king is merely an inference from later conditions, when Adullam had become Israelite (2 Chr. xi. 7, Neh. xi. 30).

16. *the king of Beth-el, one*] LXX. om.; cf. vii. 2, viii. 17. The enumeration now leaves the S. and moves to the middle of the country.

17. *Tappuah...Hepher*] are, therefore, to be sought, not in the Shephēlah, where a Tappuah occurs xv. 34, but in central Palestine. The Tappuah of xvi. 8, xvii. 7 (En-t.), 8, on the border of Ephraim and Manasseh, is probably meant here. Neither place has been discovered. The name Hepher (cf. xvii. 2) occurs again in Gath-hepher of Zebulun xix. 13, and Hapharaim of Issachar xix. 19.

18. *Aphek...Lassharon*] The latter word means *belonging to the Sharon*, cf. *v.* 22 *belonging to the Carmel*, *v.* 23 *to Naphath-dor, to Galilee*: a district, not a city, as the prep. shews. The LXX. points to the true reading; *the king of Aphek belonging to the Sharon, one*, thus distinguishing Aphek, situated on the maritime plain (*the Sharon*) between Joppa and Mt Carmel, from other places of the same name, e.g. xiii. 4 and xix. 30. The site of Mejdel Yaba, ten miles N.E. of Lod (Lydda) would agree with the narratives 1 S. iv. 1, 1 K. xx. 26, 30, and 2 K. xiii. 22 (LXX. Luc.); see W. R. Smith, *OTJC.*[2], p. 435.

19. *the king of Madon, one*] Originally perhaps *Maron*, easily confused with *-meron* in the next verse. The clause should be struck out, as due to a mistake; the LXX. places it in *v.* 20.

20. *Shimron-meron*] For *Shimron* see xi. 1 *n.*; the LXX. reads *Sumoōn*, and omits *-meron*, which may have arisen by confusion. With the aid of the LXX. the verse may be restored: *the king of Shimron, one; the king of Maron, one; the king of Achshaph, one.* For the last place see on xi. 1.

21. *Taanach...Megiddo*] The two towns, often named together (xvii. 11, Jud. i. 27, v. 19 etc.), lay about five miles apart on the road which goes westwards from Jenin, skirting the S. of the plain of Jezreel, sometimes called the *valley of Megiddo* (Zech. xii. 11 etc.). Taanach (xxi. 25) is now represented by Tell Ta'annek, and Megiddo in all probability by Tell el-Mutesellim. Both towns appear in the lists of Thothmes III. (c. 1515 B.C.),

23 Kedesh, one; the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one; the R_D
king of Dor in [1]the height of Dor, one; the king of
24 [2]Goiim in Gilgal, one; the king of Tirzah, one: all the
kings thirty and one. |

[1] Or, *Naphath-dor* [2] Or, *nations*

nos. 42 and 2, and of Shishak (c. 950 B.C.), nos. 14 and 17; and Megiddo in the Am. letters (193—196) and in Assyr. inscrr. (*COT.*[2], p. 168), for it guarded the pass by which Egyptian and Assyrian armies crossed the Carmel range into the Plain. The two sites have been excavated recently, Ta'annek by Dr Sellin in 1902—4, Tell el-Mutesellim by Dr Schumacher in 1903—5, and have yielded results which illustrate many details of the religion and social life of Palestine from c. 2000—100 B.C. The discovery at Ta'annek of twelve tablets written in Babylonian is of special interest, as shewing that the Canaanite chiefs used this language, not merely in official reports, like the Amarna letters, to their overlord in Egypt, but in private correspondence with one another; so strong was the influence of Babylonian culture in Palestine during the 15th and 14th cents. B.C See Driver, *Schweich Lects.*, pp. 80—86.

22. *Kedesh*] xix. 37; Jud. iv. 9 ff.; 2 K. xv. 29, probably the town called elsewhere Kedesh-naphtali Jud. iv. 6, and Kedesh in Galilee ch. xx. 7, xxi. 32; to be identified with Ḳades, four miles N.W. of the lake of Ḥūleh. It is most likely the Ḳadesh mentioned in the Amarna letters, 146, 11. The name implies the presence of a sanctuary.

Jokneam in Carmel] See on *v.* 18, and cf. xix. 11, xxi. 34; 1 K. iv. 12 (Jokmeam); perhaps Tell Ḳaimūn, seven miles N.W. of Tell el-Mutesellim, at the S.E. end of the Carmel ridge.

23. *Dor in the height of Dor*] See on *v.* 18 and xi. 2.

Goiim in Gilgal] *Gōyīm* means *nations*, and cannot be the name of a town, while, on the analogy of *vv.* 18, 22, 23 *a*, *in* i.e. *belonging to Gilgal* must refer to a district; elsewhere, however, Gilgal is the name of a city. No doubt the LXX. is right in reading *Galilee*; a comparison between xv. 7 and xviii. 17 shews how easily Gilgal and Galilee could be confused. So the reference here is to the king of the various *nations* or tribes *of Galilee*; cf. Is. ix. 1 *Galilee of the nations*.

24. *Tirzah*] became known as the residence of the kings of N. Israel before they moved to Samaria, 1 K. xiv. 17, xv. 21, 33 etc.; the beauty of its situation also brought it fame, Song vi. 4. Tallūza, nine miles E. of Samaria, may possibly mark the site.

thirty and one] Owing to the necessary correction of the text of *v.* 18, the total comes to *thirty*. The LXX. gives *twenty-nine*, omitting Bethel in *v.* 16, and naming only one king in *v.* 18. Evidently both the Hebr. and the Gk. lists have been edited.

PART II. CHS. XIII.—XXIV. THE DIVISION OF THE LAND.

The second part of the book is mainly concerned with the division of the land among the tribes W. of the Jordan, xiii.—xxi. P now comes to the front with a thoroughly congenial topic; but fragments of the older sources have been preserved, and these do not agree with the prevailing tones of the picture.

1. Thus according to the early tradition represented by J: (*a*) Judah and the house of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) were the first to make their way into W. Palestine and to secure a foothold, Judah in the South and Joseph in the Centre of the land, xv. 13—19 = Jud. i. 10 *b*—15, xvii. 14—18. (*b*) Some kind of allotment seems to have taken place, probably at Gilgal, *before* the tribes started on their adventures, Jud. i. 1—3. (*c*) The conquest of the land was only partially successful; in many districts the Canaanites proved too strong for the invading Hebrews. So much we learn from xiii. 1, 7, xv. 63 = Jud. i. 21, xvi. 10 = Jud. i. 29, xvii. 11—13 = Jud. i. 27, 28. Both these early passages in Josh. and their parallels in Jud. i. tell the same story, and both were derived independently from J's version of the conquest. (*d*) This source (J) no doubt contained brief descriptions of the different tribal territories, to judge from the way in which it specifies the S. border of Manasseh, xvi. 1—3, and enumerates the cities which the several tribes were unable to capture (reff. above).

2. How far E gave an account of the division of the land cannot be made out with certainty, owing to the lack of decisive clues; some think that in xviii. 11—xix. 51 E's lists have been taken over by P, but it is no longer possible to separate the earlier from the later material; xix. 49 f. (cf. xxiv. 30 E), however, suggests that according to E the land was distributed *after* the conquest. And the same view is implied by xviii. 2—10, a passage which cannot be assigned either to J or to E, but may be due to RJE: the land has been conquered so completely that the twenty-one commissioners can make their survey unmolested, and Joshua can allot the whole among the seven tribes.

3. The Dtc. view of the situation appears in xiii. 2—14; it has already been stated in ch. xii. Joshua has overthrown all opposition, and conquered the country from end to end; everything is now ready for dividing it among the western tribes; but no details of the division are given. RD's conception, therefore, agrees with that of RJE in xviii. 2—10 and with that of P. In xiv. 6—15 RD has edited a fragment of J or RJE which, quite inconsistently with all that RD has said before (x. 36 f., xi. 21), assumes that Hebron has not yet been captured, nor the Anākim driven out.

4. Lastly, we have the representation of P, which dominates

chs. xiii.—xxi. In due form, at the sanctuary of Shiloh (xviii. 1), the conquered land is parcelled out among the western tribes by Eleazar and Joshua, the religious and civil heads of the community, assisted by the tribal chiefs (xiv. 1), in obedience to the Mosaic order given in Num. xxxiv. P. The territory conquered on the E. of the Jordan had already been apportioned by Moses; so there remained nine and a half tribes to receive their possessions, and these are defined with careful precision. Further, in accordance with Moses' direction, Num. xxxv. P, six cities of refuge are set apart, and forty-eight for the priests and Levites, chs. xx., xxi. The heading of P's survey, xviii. 1, has been removed from its original position before xiv. 1; the conclusion is given in xix. 51.

As we study the details of the survey we find that Judah and Benjamin receive the fullest treatment, xv., xviii. 11—28, and Ephraim and Manasseh the most scanty, xvi., xvii.; the reason seems to be that the compiler (RP) wished to make use of some early material (xvi. 1—3, xvii. 11—18), which he considered more important than the bare lists furnished by P. But in the case of the other six tribes P's survey is relatively short and far from clear; very likely it has been abridged by RP (see on xv. 59); possibly P was a Judahite, and not so much interested in the other tribes. At any rate the details of P have been a good deal worked over by later editors, who have introduced changes in the names of towns and in their tribal connexions. Chs. xx., xxi., xxii. form a later addition made by editors of the Priestly school. Generally speaking, an examination of the structure of chs. xiii.—xxi. leads to the conclusion that P's survey has been fitted into a framework of RD (xiii. 2—14, xviii. 2—10, xxi. 43—45); the literary process by which Joshua reached its present form is, therefore, not identical with that which can be traced in the Pentateuch; for in the Pentateuch P furnishes the chronological basis of the whole, and J, E, D, have been fitted into the framework of P (see Carpenter-Harford, *Hexateuch* I., pp. 343 ff., 375 f.).

So much for the Division of the Land. In ch. xxiii. we have a late addition composed in the Dtc. style, and inserted most probably after RD had brought the book to an end with the retrospect in ch. xxiv. The latter ch. has passed through the hands of RD, but as a whole it comes from E, and preserves a traditional view of the history which has an importance and interest of its own.

1. *An introduction: the possessions of the Eastern Tribes*, ch. xiii.

In *vv.* 2—12 RD introduces the general subject of the division of the land, mentioning first, *vv.* 2—6, the outlying districts on the W. of the Jordan which had to be allotted to the nine and a half tribes, and then, *vv.* 8—12, the territory E. of the Jordan

J Now Joshua was old and well stricken in years; and the 13
LORD said unto him, Thou art old and well stricken in
years, and there remaineth yet very much land to be
RD possessed. | This is the land that yet remaineth: all the 2

which Moses had already made over to the two and a half tribes. Together with this introductory matter RD has allowed certain fragments of J to stand, *vv.* 1, 7 *a*, 13, which do not agree with their present context, nor with RD's own view that the whole land had been conquered.

Then in *vv.* 15—32 P begins his account of the division by an elaborate survey of the Eastern territories; the passage thus goes over the same ground as *vv.* 8—12, but expands RD with fuller detail. The chapter ends in a verse which merely repeats *v.* 14, the work of a later hand.

1. *Joshua was old and well stricken in years*] So xxiii. 1 RD, cf. Gen. xviii. 11, xxiv. 1 J. The early wars are by this time long past, cf. xi. 18 *n.*; and the land has not yet been entirely conquered, nor divided among the tribes. The latter task, at any rate, Joshua can still undertake, and his advanced age makes it necessary to begin at once. We must read *v.* 7 *a* as the continuation of the present verse; originally, perhaps, both belonged to the passage xviii. 2 ff.[1], which deals with the division of Canaan among the seven portionless tribes. Apparently RD has transferred *vv.* 1 and 7 to their present position, without troubling, however, to bring them into harmony with his own remarks in *vv.* 2—6.

there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed] This is J's view: the conquest of the land was far from complete; Judah and Joseph had won their possessions, they were the first tribes to settle in Canaan, xv. 13—19, xvii. 14—18, Jud. i. 1—3, 10 f., 22—29; the rest of the tribes had still their way to make, xviii. 2 ff. According to RD, on the other hand, the whole country had been reduced by Joshua's campaigns, though not yet to the ideal limits laid down in i. 3 f., Dt. i. 7, xi. 24; see *v.* 6, xxiii. 4 f. There is a Dtc. flavour about the word *to be possessed*, lit. *to possess it*, at the end of a sentence (see i. 11 *n.*), and possibly RD has added this touch; but the verse as a whole comes from J.

2. *This is the land that yet remaineth*] Not the land referred to in *v.* 1, which is the central part of Canaan, afterwards occupied by Israel; but, as *vv.* 2—6 shew, outlying districts in the S., W., and N., which the Israelites never made their own. RD has incongruously put these geographical details into the mouth of Jehovah (*v.* 6). The description of the unconquered territory runs from south to north: the Philistine country, the Phoenician-Canaanite coast-land, the Lebanon district.

[1] So Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, p. 135.

3 regions of the Philistines, and all the Geshurites; from R_D
[1]the Shihor, which is before Egypt, even unto the border
of Ekron northward, *which* is counted to the Canaanites:

[1] Commonly called, *the brook of Egypt*. See Num. xxxiv. 5.

all the regions of the Philistines] Cf. Joel iii. 4, 1 Macc. v. 15 (*all Galilee of the Phil.*); the *regions* (*gelīlōth*) belonging to the five cities mentioned in *v.* 3. The Philistines were foreigners by race and civilization, and not Semites. Along with kindred tribes from Crete and the S.W. corner of Asia Minor (see Am. ix. 7, Jer. xlvii. 4, Zeph. ii. 5, Ezek. xxv. 16 LXX.) they invaded Canaan c. 1200 B.C., and settled on the coast between Gaza and Carmel, where in the course of time they formed a federal state consisting of five cities. See further *Judges* (C.B.), p. 130 f.; Macalister, *The Philistines* (1913), p. 28 etc.

and all the Geshūrites] Not the Geshūrites mentioned in *vv.* 11, 13, who were an Aramaean tribe dwelling on the N.E. of the Jordan (see xii. 4 *n.*), but another tribe of the same name inhabiting, as the context suggests, the country between the Philistines and Egypt; they are mentioned again in 1 S. xxvii. 8. It looks as if they were the same as the Avvim in *v.* 3.

3. *the Shihor, which is before Egypt*] Elsewhere Shihor denotes the Nile, Is. xxiii. 3, Jer. ii. 18, 1 Chr. xiii. 5; and as *before* = *east of Egypt*, we must suppose that the reference is to the easternmost or Pelusiac arm of the Nile, regarded as the ideal S.W. frontier of Israel (so Gen. xv. 18 RJE). But perhaps *the Shihor* is merely a scribal error for *Shur*[1], a district on the E. frontier of Egypt: then we have the standing phrase *Shur which is before* (= *east of*) *Egypt*, Gen. xxv. 18 J, 1 S. xv. 7. In any case the marg. is wrong in identifying *the Shihor* with *the brook of Egypt*, i.e. the Wadi el-'Arīsh, some fifty miles S.W. of Gaza, which P takes to be the S.W. frontier, xv. 4, 47, Num. xxxiv. 5. The other frontier, whether Shihor or Shur, is 150 miles still further to the S.W.

Ekron] The most northerly of the Philistine cities: the modern village of *'Ākir* preserves the name but no vestige of the ancient site[2]. In xv. 45 ff. Ekron, like Gaza and Ashdod, is assigned theoretically to Judah, in xix. 43 to Dan; but as the earlier literature shews, these cities remained Philistine: see 1 S. v., vi. 17, Am. i. 6—8, Jer. xxv. 20.

which *is counted to the Canaanites*] It would be better to supply "the land" instead of "which" as the subject to *is counted*. The words are probably a gloss, intended to emphasize

[1] Meyer, *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 333 *n.*

[2] Sennacherib in 701 captured Ekron (*Amkaruna*), and defeated the Egyptian army which had come to its relief: Prism Inscr. III. 1. Rogers, *Cun. Parallels*, p. 342.

RD the five lords of the Philistines; the Gazites, and the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites; [1]also the Avvim, on the south: all the land 4
of the Canaanites, and Mearah that belongeth to the Zidonians, unto Aphek, to the border of the Amorites:

[1] Or, *also the Avvim: from the south, all &c.*

the claim that, as Canaanite, this district ought to belong to Israel.

the five lords of the Philistines] Probably one for each of the five cities; cf. Jud. iii. 3, xvi. 5 ff., 1 S. vi. 16. The word for *lords* (*serānīm*) is evidently a native title, and only found in this connexion. For *Gaza* see x. 41 *n.*; for *Ashdod* and *Gath*, xi. 22 *n.* *Ashkelon*, now 'Asḳalān, lay on the coast about half way between Gaza and Ashdod.

In *vv.* 3—6 RD has expanded and certainly not improved the older passage Jud. iii. 3, which also gives a list of the peoples whom Israel was unable to subdue. The additions introduce much perplexity, and in several places, esp. in *vv.* 4, 5, the text has suffered from further alterations and glosses[1].

also the Avvim, on the south] This rendering is implied by the LXX., Vulg., Pesh.; the Hebr. text places the verse division at the wrong point. According to Dt. ii. 23 the Avvim inhabited the S.W. of Palestine before they were driven out by the Philistine invaders from Caphtor.

4. *all the land of the Canaanites*] i.e. the Phoenician Canaanites on the low-lying strip of coast-land from Carmel northwards to Zidon, Gebal, and as far as Arvad. The Dtc. writers are inclined to use *Canaanites* in the special sense of the inhabitants of the coast (e.g. *v.* 3, v. 1, xi. 3, xvi. 10, Dt. i. 7) and of the Jordan valley (e.g. xi. 3, Dt. xi. 30), while they distinguish the inhabitants of the hill country by the name of *Amorites* (e.g. v. 1, Dt. i. 7, cf. Num. xiii. 29? E); here, however, *Amorites* may be due to textual error, see on *v.* 5.

and Meārah that belongeth to the Zidonians] In Jud. iii. 3, the source of the present passage, *all the Canaanites* is followed by *and the Zidonians* (so LXX. here); RD has tried to render the latter term more exact. Clearly for *and Meārah* the context requires **from** *Meārah* (= *cave*): some think of the caves at Jezzin on the slopes of Lebanon, eleven miles E. of Zidon; others, of the grotto of Astartē, now called Mughāret el-Farj, just N. of the river Ḳāsimiyeh, and not far from Tyre, i.e. in the S. of the Zidonian territory[2]. Either position would be suitable, both are uncertain.

unto Aphek] The writer seems to be tracing a line from S. to

[1] See Meyer, l.c. pp. 332—335.

[2] So Buhl in *Mittheilungen DPV.* 1895, pp. 53—55.

5 and the land of the Gebalites, and all Lebanon, toward *RD*
the sunrising, from Baal-gad under mount Hermon unto
6 the entering in of Hamath: all the inhabitants of the

N.; hence Aphek in the Sharon xii. 18, which some consider may be meant here, does not meet the requirements; another Aphek, further N., is assigned to Asher in xix. 30, Jud. i. 31, but its position is unknown. The place which the writer has in his mind appears to mark the northern limit of the Zidonian country; many, therefore, identify it with the town called by the Greeks *Aphaka*, now Afḳā, famous for its temple of Astartē, which lies in the Lebanon S.E. of Gebal (Byblus), at the source of the river Adonis, the Nahr Ibrāhīm. Supposing that Meārah = Mughāret el-Farj or Jezzin, and that Aphek = Afḳā, we have a line running from S. to N. along the Phoenician hinterland; then *to the border of the Amorites*, i.e. of the inhabitants of the central hill country, may be a further definition of this eastern boundary up to the N., though we do not expect to meet the Amorites in Lebanon. This last clause, however, may not belong to the original form of the *v.*; it may be either a gloss or a corrupt reading. In fact, where so much depends upon guess-work, nothing satisfactory can be made of the details given in this verse.

5. *and the land of the Gebalites*] The Hebr. is anomalous and corrupt. On the whole, the best way to deal with the text is to read *unto the border of the Gebalites* (Dillm., Driver etc.), omitting *the Amorites* at the end of *v.* 4 together with *and the land* at the beginning of *v.* 5: the two words might be confused in Hebr. We must then suppose that *the border of the Gebalites* reached from Gebal on the coast S.E to Afḳā, and perhaps at the time of the writer marched with the Zidonian border. The line proceeds in a S.E. direction, taking in *all Lebanon, toward the sunrising*, down to Baal-gad (xi. 17 *n.*), and from there turns W. for a short distance *unto the entering in of Hamath*.

Gebal was an ancient Phoenician city in the N., now Jebeil, c. twenty-two miles N. of Beirūt; the Greeks changed its name to *Bublos*; cf. 1 K. v. 18 [32], Ezek. xxvii. 9, and *NSI.*, pp. 19 ff.

A different explanation is proposed by Buhl l.c. Keeping *unto the border of the Amorites v.* 4, i.e. the hill country on the E. of Phoenicia, he reads at the beginning of *v.* 5 *and the land which borders* (*gōbéleth*) *the Lebanon*, i.e. a district on the E., *toward the sunrising*, defined further by the direction *from Baal-gad... Hamáth*. The effect is to bring the boundary much lower down, by getting rid of the mention of Gebal.

the entering in of Hamáth] most likely refers to the broad valley between Lebanon and Hermon, leading up to what was called Coele-Syria in Graeco-Roman times, and eventually to Hamáth itself, now Ḥamā, the important Hittite town on the Orontes, 145 miles to the N. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the

R_D hill country from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, even
all the Zidonians; them will I drive out from before the
children of Israel: only allot thou it unto Israel for an
J inheritance, as I have commanded thee. | Now therefore 7
R_D divide this land for an inheritance | unto the nine tribes,
and the half tribe of Manasseh. With him the Reubenites 8

Merj 'Ayūn may have been "the point at which one enters the way to Ḥamáth." The phrase is often used to mark the N. limit of Canaan or of Israel, e.g. Jud. iii. 3, Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8 P, 1 K. viii. 65, 2 K. xiv. 25.

6. *all the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon*] An expansion of *the inhabitants of mount Lebanon* Jud. iii. 3. This half of the *v.* sums up in other words the definitions already given in *vv.* 4, 5. For *Misrephoth-maim* see on xi. 8. Jehovah promises to drive out the people of these outlying regions in the course of time (cf. iii. 10, Dt. vii. 22 ff., contr. Jud. iii. 1—4): so RD accounts for the fact that Joshua's conquests had fallen short of the ideal limits of the Promised Land (see i. 3 f.); even all Phoenicia, a country never occupied by Israel, came within the scope of the promise in the enthusiastic fancy of the writer.

allot thou it...for an inheritance] The phrase again in xxiii. 4 RD, Ezek. xlv. 1, xlvii. 22. This is one of the cases in which the language of RD approaches that of the Priestly school, cf. p. 106. Instead of *inheritance*, with its misleading suggestions, **possession** would be a better rendering. According to the Dtc. idea the land of Canaan was *given* to the Israelites by Jehovah, or by Moses and Joshua at His bidding: it was not inherited from their ancestors. Cf. *vv.* 14, 33, xi. 23, Dt. iv. 21 and often.

7. *divide this land*] Not the land described in *vv.* 2—6, i.e. the outlying regions in the S. and W., but the land referred to in *v.* 1, i.e. Canaan itself, the future home of the Israelites. The first part of this *v.* belongs to the fragment of J preserved in *v.* 1.

unto the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh] From RD, for J knows nothing of the half tribe of Manasseh. According to the early tradition xvii. 14—18 J, Joseph (= Ephraim and Manasseh) received only one portion, on the West: in other words, Manasseh was first of all settled on the West, and then later, we may suppose, a part of the tribe moved across the Jordan, and settled in N. Gilead; see Num. xxxii. 39, 41 J (*v.* 40 is an interpolation).

8. *With him*] i.e. with half western Manasseh, just mentioned. But Reuben and Gad are never associated with *western* Manasseh: there must be some mistake. The LXX. inserts a long sentence which cannot represent the original, though it shews how uncertain the text was at this point, and gives a hint for the emendation of *v.* 8. Read *unto the nine tribes and the half tribe.* [8] *For the*

and the Gadites received their inheritance, which Moses *Rd*
gave them, beyond Jordan eastward, even as Moses the
9 servant of the LORD gave them; from Aroer, that is on
the edge of the valley of Arnon, and the city that is in
the middle of the valley, and all the [1]plain of Medeba
10 unto Dibon; and all the cities of Sihon king of the
Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, unto the border
11 of the children of Ammon; and Gilead, and the border
of the Geshurites and Maacathites, and all mount Her-

[1] Or, *table land*

half tribe of M. and with him the R. and the G. had received their possession: the copyist accidentally overlooked the repetition of the *half tribe*.

Rd wishes to explain how there came to be nine and a half tribes on the W. waiting for their possessions, so he gives an account of the settlement of two and a half tribes on the E. of Jordan. We have had this before in xii. 2—6 (perhaps from a different hand of the Dtc. school); cf. ii. 10, ix. 10. The present passage has been condensed from Dt. iii. 1—7, which again serves as the basis of Num. xxi. 33—35. The Dtc. writers never seem to tire of the topic.

9. The description begins with the Moabite table-land (see on *v.* 16), and goes *from Aroer* (xii. 2 *n.*) in the S. to Mēdeba in the N.; then it comes back *to Dibon* in the S., almost to the point from which it started, for Dibon is only three miles from Aroer. To render *and all the plain of Mēdeba* is not allowed by Hebr. grammar; *and all the plain unto Mēdeba from Dibon* (LXX. ἀπὸ Δαιδαβάν) gives the sense required: but perhaps *Mēdeba unto Dibon* is a gloss, roughly attached to *all the plain*. The two names still survive: *Mâdebā*, eleven miles E. of the upper end of the Dead Sea (cf. *v.* 16, Num. xxi. 30, Is. xv. 2 etc., Moab. St. ll. 8, 30), and *Dībān*, a ruined site, where the Moabite Stone was found in 1868, about four miles N. of the Arnon (cf. Is. xv. 2, Jer. xlviii. 18, 22 etc., Moab. St. ll. 1 f., 21, 28).

11. *and Gilead*] Strictly speaking, the kingdom of Sihon was limited to the southern half of Gilead, between the Arnon and the Jabbok, see xii. 2 *n.*; but here probably the whole of Gilead is meant, from the Arnon to the Yarmuk.

and the border of the Geshurites and Maacathites] In xii. 5 and Dt. iii. 14 the phrase marks a boundary, here, however, a district. The text ought to read *unto the border* etc., and this may have been altered to suit *v.* 13, which mentions a district, ideally Israelite, but actually still held by its original inhabitants. The Geshurites and Maacathites were Aramaic tribes (cf. 2 S. xv. 8) living in what is now called Jaulān.

RD mon, and all Bashan unto Salecah; all the kingdom of 12
Og in Bashan, which reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei
(the same was left of the remnant of the Rephaim);
J for these did Moses smite, and drave them out. | Never- 13
theless the children of Israel drave not out the Geshur-
ites, nor the Maacathites: but Geshur and Maacath
RD dwelt in the midst of Israel, unto this day. | Only unto 14
the tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; the offerings
of the LORD, the God of Israel, made by fire are his
inheritance, as he spake unto him. |

The description goes N. to Hermon, and then turns down to the S.E., to Salkah in the S.E. of Bashan.

12. Then comes the kingdom of Og (see xii. 4 *n.*), covering much the same ground as *v.* 11. In fact, it looks as if *vv.* 10 and 12 (the kingdoms of Sihon and Og) were secondary or later additions; for the country of the two and a half tribes is sufficiently marked out in *vv.* 9 and 11 (Steuernagel, Holzinger).

for these did Moses smite] i.e. Sihon and Og; Num. xxi. 24, 35 JE.

13. A stray verse from the early account of the invasion which has been preserved here and there in Josh. (xv. 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 12) and in Jud. i. (*vv.* 19, 21, 27 ff.): originally perhaps it followed xvii. 14—18 and Num. xxxii. 39, 41 f., see p. 162. These fragments (J) all tell of the failure of the Israelites to dislodge the natives in various parts of the country: they make it clear that (1) the occupation of Canaan depended on the enterprise of individual tribes, and (2) the conquest was by no means complete. How different was the unhistorical, generalizing view of RD has been pointed out already.

dwelt in the midst of Israel...day] So xv. 63 = Jud. i. 21, xvi. 10 = Jud. i. 29; cf. vi. 25 *n.*

14. *Only*] RD, or one of the Dtc. writers (i. 17 *n.*), adds an explanation. The term *fire-offerings of Jehovah* is frequently applied in P (sixty-two times) to the different sacrifices, in which certain parts were burnt by fire, and certain parts went to the priests: e.g. Lev. i. 9, ii. 3, iii. 3, vii. 5. Outside P the word occurs only here and in Dt. xviii. 1, 1 S. ii. 28; and here most likely it is not original; the LXX. does not recognize it, nor *v.* 33 where this *v.* is repeated, nor Dt. x. 9, xviii. 2. Lit. the Hebr. runs *the fire-offerings of Jehovah...he*(!) *is his possession*: *the fire-offerings of* has been carelessly inserted from Dt. xviii. 1.

15. P's account of the distribution of the land begins, and, with occasional fragments from earlier sources, extends to ch. xxi. The trans-Jordanic tribes, Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh, come first, so that *vv.* 15—31 repeat and expand

15 And Moses gave unto the tribe of the children of *P*
16 Reuben according to their families. And their border
was from Aroer, that is on the edge of the valley of
Arnon, and the city that is in the middle of the valley,
17 and all the [1]plain by Medeba; Heshbon, and all her
cities that are in the [1]plain; Dibon, and Bamoth-baal,
18 and Beth-baal-meon; and Jahaz, and Kedemoth, and

[1] Or, *table land*

what has just been described by RD in *vv.* 8—14: each section ends with a reference to the tribe of Levi.

The LXX. inserts a heading: "This is the division which Moses divided to the sons of Israel in the plains of Moab beyond Jordan, over against Jericho." A conclusion in almost identical terms occurs in *v.* 32, for the second time in the Greek. Most scholars hold that the LXX. is right, and that the sentence, or something very like it (cf. xiv. 1, xix. 51), originally stood at the beginning as well as at the end of the section. In view of *v.* 32, the Hebr. editors might well have struck it out, while the Gk. translators would hardly have invented such a superfluous remark.

The phraseology of P appears at once: *tribe* (*maṭṭeh* instead of *shēbeṭ*), see vii. 18 *n.*; *the children of Reuben* instead of *the Reubenites v.* 8; *according to their families vv.* 23 ff. and very often.

16. *from Aroer*] See *v.* 9, xii. 2 *n.*

the plain] Cf. *v.* 9, in Hebr. *the Mīshōr* = *the table-land*, specially referring to the high plateau of Moab, which spreads out, at an average level of 2000 feet, from the W. Ḥesbān at the N.E. of the Dead Sea to the Arnon. *The Mīshōr* thus forms the third and southernmost division of the country E. of the Jordan; N. of it lay *Gilead* reaching to the Yarmuk, and *Bashan* to the N. of the Yarmuk.

by Mēdeba] The town, situated on a high mound, can be seen across the whole plain. But the context favours the reading of the LXX. *unto Heshbon* (from *v.* 17), i.e. the northern limit of the Mishōr and of the Reubenite territory, six miles N. of Mēdeba. A large number of Hebr. MSS. read *unto* instead of *by*.

17. *Heshbon*] See xii. 2 *n.*; in xxi. 39 assigned to Gad. *Bamoth-baal* (= *highplaces of Baal*), coming between Dibon and Beth-baal-meon, may be looked for somewhere near Mt 'Aṭṭārūs, S. of the Wadi Zerḳā Ma'in; though a situation further N., near the Wadi 'Ayūn Mūsa which leads to Mt Pisgah (Num. xxi. 20), is also possible. *Beth-baal-meon*, = Baal-meon Num. xxxii. 38, Ezek. xxv. 9, Moab. St. l. 9, Beth-meon Jer. xlviii. 23, survives in Ma'īn, four miles S.W. of Mādebā.

18. *Jahaz*] Site unknown, but it lay on the Mīshōr (Jer.

P Mephaath; and Kiriathaim, and Sibmah, and Zereth- 19
shahar in the mount of the valley; and Beth-peor, and 20
the [1]slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth; and all the 21
cities of the [2]plain, and all the kingdom of Sihon king of
the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, whom Moses
smote with the chiefs of Midian, Evi and Rekem, and
Zur, and Hur, and Reba, the princes of Sihon, that dwelt

[1] Or, *springs* [2] Or, *table land*

xlviii. 21), near the eastern wilderness (Dt. ii. 32), and probably not far from Dibon (Moab. St. l. 19): cf. xxi. 36, Num. xxi. 23. As a rule it was a Moabite possession (Is. xv. 4, Jer. xlviii. 34), though occupied by the Israelites at times (Moab. St. l.c.).

Kedēmoth] xxi. 37, Dt. ii. 26, also near the wilderness, E. of Dibon, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Umm er-Raṣāṣ. The site of *Mephaath* xxi. 37, Jer. xlviii. 21 is unknown.

19. *Kiriathaim*] Num. xxxii. 37 f., Jer. xlviii. 23, Ezek. xxv. 9, Moab. St. l. 10, has often been identified with Ḳureiyāt, seven miles N.W. of Dibon; but the name is a common one, and a site further N., near Mt Nebo, seems to be implied by Jer. xlviii. 1.

Sibmah] Num. xxxii. 38, Is. xvi. 8 f., Jer. xlviii. 32; site unknown. The same must be said of the next place, though eṣ-Ṣara, the hot wells on the N.W. slope of Mt ʿAṭṭārūs (*the mount of the valley*), recalls the ancient name: *the valley* is prob. the Jordan depression, as in *v.* 27.

20. *Beth-peor*] Dt. iii. 29, iv. 46, xxxiv. 6. The site is uncertain, but it must have lain not far from Mt Nebo. Eusebius in the *Onom.* (233, 78) says that Beth-phogor was near Mt Phogor, opposite to Jericho, six Roman miles above Livias (= Tell er-Rāmeh): this points to one of the hills overlooking Wadi Ḥesbān. For *the slopes of Pisgah* and *Beth-jeshimoth* see xii. 3 *n.*

21. *all the cities of the plain*] So Dt. iii. 10.

the chiefs of Midian] are here said to have perished with Sihon, in the same battle; i.e. the author of this *v.*, perhaps some later scribe, has combined the war against the Amorites (Num. xxi. 21—31 JE) with the war against the Midianites (Num. xxxi. P). The verse occurs again in Num. xxxi. 8 P, but the annotator here has turned *the kings of Midian* into *chiefs* and vassal *princes of Sihon* (an unusual word, cf. Ezek. xxxii. 30, Mic. v. 5 [4], Ps. lxxxiii. 11 [12], Dan. xi. 8). No doubt the pr. names, which are identical and in the same order in both passages, come from an old tradition: they "have no appearance of being either artificial or late" (Gray, *Numbers*, p. 421). In Num. xxv. 15 *Zur* is the head of a Midianite family.

22 in the land. Balaam also the son of Beor, the sooth- *P*
sayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword
23 among the rest of their slain. And the border of the
children of Reuben was Jordan, and the border *thereof*.
This was the inheritance of the children of Reuben
according to their families, the cities and the villages
thereof.
24 And Moses gave unto the tribe of Gad, unto the children
25 of Gad, according to their families. And their border

22. *Balaam*] Num. xxxi. 8 also mentions Balaam in this connexion; but here he is given the opprobrious title of *the soothsayer* or *diviner* (cf. Dt. xviii. 14, 1 S. vi. 2, Is. xliv. 25, Ezek. xxi. 21 [26] ff.); and to provide a suitable end to his career, both passages declare that he was slain in battle by the Israelites. According to Num. xxiv. 25 J, however, he returns peacefully to his home when he has delivered his oracles; similarly, in ch. xxiv. 9, 10 E nothing is said about his death. The later writers are determined to blacken the character of Balaam, a matter with which the old story, as told by J and E in Num. xxii.—xxiv., shews no concern.

the son of Beor] The name may be explained by the Babylonian *bārû* = *diviner*: Balaam was a professional *bārû*, the descendant of a family of diviners[1].

23. *And the border...was Jordan, and the border* thereof] Lit. *And the border...was Jordan and a border*, a peculiar construction which appears again in *v.* 27, xv. 12, 47, Num. xxxiv. 6, Dt. iii. 16, 17. The meaning seems to be that the Jordan marked not merely the western boundary of the Reubenite land, but *at the same time, also*, a boundary running S. and N.

the cities and the villages thereof] P's formula, cf. *v.* 28, xv. 32 ff. and often; Gen. xxv. 16 etc.

24. According to the scheme of P the territory of Gad lay to the N., and that of Reuben to the S. of a line drawn eastwards from the upper end of the Dead Sea, and passing just N. of Heshbon. Quite different is the account given by JE in Num. xxxii. 34—36. There the Reubenite cities cluster round Heshbon, and form a sort of enclave within the territory of Gad, which reaches S. to the Arnon and N. almost to the Jabbok. As to the northern boundary between Gad and half Manasseh, the statements of P are contradictory. Thus *v.* 25 assigns to Gad *all the cities of Gilead*, while Machir the son of Manasseh receives *half Gilead* according to *v.* 31. No doubt Gilead was an elastic term; but the data furnished by other documents, e.g. Num.

[1] Daiches in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 69.

P was Jazer, and all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon, unto Aroer that is before Rabbah; and from Heshbon unto Ramath-mizpeh, and 26

xxxii. 29 P contr. Num. xxxii. 39 JE, Dt. iii. 15, do not clear up the obscurity. See Bennett in Hastings' *DB.*, s.v. Gad.

25. *Jazer*] is frequently mentioned in the O.T., thus xxi. 39, Num. xxi. 32, xxxii. 1, 3, 35; in Is. xvi. 8 f., Jer. xlviii. 32 it belongs to Moab. According to Num. xxi. 24 LXX. it lay on the border between the Amorites and the Ammonites, and such is the position implied here and in Num. xxi. 32; in the Maccabaean period the town had become entirely Ammonite, 1 Macc. v. 8. Eusebius and Jerome place it ten or eight Roman miles W. of Philadelphia = Rabbath-ammon (*Onom.* 212, 25; 264, 98; 86, 21); so that the site of Khirbet Ṣār, six and a half miles W. of 'Ammān, would agree with the description, though the names are not related. Other sites have been proposed.

all the cities of Gilead] See xii. 2 *n.* If this means the upper half of Gilead (from the Yarmuk to the Jabbok), it does not go far enough S.; or if the lower half (from the Jabbok to the Arnon), it includes the territory which has just been given to Reuben. Probably, therefore, *Gilead* is here used vaguely of the country N. of the Reubenites.

the land of the children of Ammon] i.e. the land E. of the district between the Jabbok and the Arnon; cf. xii. 2 *n.*

unto Arōer] Not the Arōer of *vv.* 9, 16, xii. 2, but another Arōer *before*, i.e. E., of Rabbath-ammon, Jud. xi. 33. The site has not been discovered. *Rabbah* or Rabbath-ammon (Dt. iii. 11, 2 S. xi. 1, Am. i. 14 etc.) was the capital of the Ammonites, the only one of their cities mentioned in the O.T. Its name was changed to Philadelphia in Graeco-Roman times; now it is called 'Ammān, on the upper course of the Jabbok, twenty-five miles N.E. of the Dead Sea.

26 *Ramath-mizpeh*] evidently marks the N. limit of Gad, but its exact position is not known, and such a name as *Mizpeh*, = *point of outlook*, could belong to several sites (cf. xi. 3 *n.*). Buhl thinks that Ramath-mizpeh, Mizpeh of Gilead Jud. xi. 29, the Mizpah of Gen. xxxi. 49, Hos. v. 1, and the home of Jephthah Jud. x. 17, xi. 11, 34, were all one and the same place, situated somewhere in the N. or N.E. of Jebel 'Ajlūn, the high wooded district N. of the Jabbok. *Betōnim*, "pistachio nuts," has not been identified, though Baṭanah or Baṭneh (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* II., map; *Enc. Bibl.* map, col. 1728) three miles W. of eṣ-Ṣalt recalls the name. *Mahanaim* may have lain just N. of the Jabbok, near Deir 'Alla, seven miles N.E. of the Jordan ford ed-Dāmiyeh; some such position seems to be required by Gen. xxxii. 2: on the other hand the notices in 2 S. ii. 8, 12, 29, xvii.

Betonim; and from Mahanaim unto the border of *P*
27 [1]Debir; and in the valley, Beth-haram, and Beth-nimrah, and Succoth, and Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon, [2]Jordan and the border *thereof*, unto the uttermost part of the sea of Chinnereth beyond
28 Jordan eastward. This is the inheritance of the children of Gad according to their families, the cities and the villages thereof.
29 And Moses gave *inheritance* unto the half tribe of

[1] Or, *Lidebir* [2] Or, *having Jordan for a border*

24, 27, xix. 32 point to a site further N. for the capital of Ish-bosheth. It has been thought that the name survives in Maḥneh, thirteen miles N. of the 'Jabbok, and six miles E. of Jordan, in the W. el-Ḥimār. See Driver, *Samuel*[2], p. 241.

of **Lidebir**] Most likely the same place as *Lo-debar*, 2 S. ix. 4 f., xvii. 27, probably not far from Mahanaim.

27. *in the valley*] i.e. of the Jordan, cf. *v.* 19, xvii. 16. *Beth-haram* and *Beth-nimrah* appear as Gadite towns in Num. xxxii. 36 JE (*Beth-haran*). The former may be placed at Tell er-Rāmeh (= Livias, *Onom.* 103, 16), seven miles N.E. of the upper end of the Dead Sea, in the W. Ḥesbān; Beth-nimrah has left its name behind in Tell Nimrin (cf. Is. xv. 6, Jer. xlviii. 34), five miles N. of the former place. *Succoth* lay in the Jordan valley, Ps. lx. 6, near Penuel and below, i.e. W. of it (Jud. viii. 5, 8), and probably S. of the Jabbok; see *Judges*, p. 91. *Zaphon* (see Jud. xii. 1 marg.) lay near Succoth, not far from the Jordan; Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 12, 5, calls it Asōphōn. These places all belong to the S.W. of the Gadite country.

the rest of the kingdom of Sihon] must mean that part of it which had not been made over to Reuben, *v.* 20.

Jordan and the border thereof] See on *v.* 23. The phrase is to be connected with *And their border was*, *v.* 25; the marg. does not bring out the sense quite accurately.

the sea of Chinnereth] Cf. xi. 2 *n.*

28. *the children of Gad...families*] The LXX. adds "they shall turn their neck before their enemies," no doubt translating a note on the margin of the Hebrew: was it a piece of tribal spite?

Vv. 29—31, describing the territory of E. Manasseh, have been expanded by later editors from a Dtc. note, apparently with the object of harmonizing inconsistent data; the text is therefore much confused.

29. *And Moses gave*] The verb has no object; *and* [*it*] *was* in cl. *b* lacks a subject; *tribe* in cl. *a* is D's word (*shēbeṭ*), in cl. *b*

P Manasseh: and it was for the half tribe of the children of Manasseh according to their families. And their 30 border was from Mahanaim, all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, and all the towns of Jair, which are in Bashan, threescore cities: and half Gilead, and 31 Ashtaroth, and Edrei, the cities of the kingdom of Og

it is P's (*maṭṭeh*). The LXX. simplifies the *v.* by reading "And Moses gave to the half of the tribe of Manasseh according to their families," in agreement with *vv.* 15, 24. This view of the origin of the Manassite colony on the E. of Jordan seems to go back to D, ch. i. 12, xii. 6 *n.*, Dt. iii. 13, xxix. 8; it became the accepted tradition; but the older sources imply a different explanation, see on *v.* 7.

30. *from Mahanaim, all Bashan*] Many MSS. and LXX. read **and** *all Bashan*, which is more intelligible. The writer passes over N. Gilead, which came between Mahanaim (*v.* 26 *n.*) and Bashan (xii. 4 *n.*).

all the towns of Jair] In Num. xxxii. 41, Jud. x. 4 called *Havvoth-jair*, i.e. "the tent-villages of Jair," if *ḥavvoth* is to be connected with the Arab *ḥiwā* = a group of tents near together. But we need not think of a nomad encampment; the old name may well have been preserved long after tents had given place to permanent *towns*. According to the earlier notices, Num. xxxii. 41 J, Jud. x. 4, 1 K. iv. 13, these towns were situated in Gilead, i.e. S. of the Yarmuk; but Dt. iii. 14, followed by the present *v.*, moves them into Bashan, i.e. far to the N.E. It has been suggested that *Gilead* might be taken in a wide sense to include Bashan; this is hardly likely, however, in a description of geographical boundaries. More probably Dt. iii. 14 is an attempt to reconcile the statement about *the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan ib. v.* 13 with Num. xxxii. 39, 41, which mentions Gilead only, by assuming that Jair's district lay in Bashan. When did the Havvoth-jair receive their characteristic name? Was it in the time of Moses, or in the time of the Judges? The traditions appear to be contradictory, but only on the surface; for Num. xxxii. 39, 40 is a fragment which closely resembles the ancient verses preserved in Jud. i., and refers to the same period, the early days of the conquest; it has been moved to its present context in order to bring the Manassite settlements on the E. of Jordan into the Mosaic period. See further *Judges* (C.B.), p. III.

31. *and half Gilead*] i.e. the northern half, between the Jabbok and the Yarmuk, xii. 2 *n.* This agrees with Dt. iii. 13, where *the rest of Gilead* is given to Manasseh; but it is inconsistent with *v.* 25, where *all the cities of Gilead* are given to Gad, and with xvii. 1 *b*, Num. xxxii. 40, Dt. iii. 15, where Machir receives Gilead

in Bashan, were for the children of Machir the son of *P*
Manasseh, | even for the half of the children of Machir *
according to their families. |

32 These are the inheritances which Moses distributed *P*
in the plains of Moab, beyond the Jordan at Jericho,
33 eastward. | But unto the tribe of Levi Moses gave none *
inheritance: the LORD, the God of Israel, is their inheritance, as he spake unto them. |

as a whole: the last two passages are interpolations. For *Ashtaroth* and *Edrei* see on xii. 4.

were for the children of Machir] A remark based no doubt upon Num. xxxii. 40, Dt. iii. 15. It is explained by a gloss *even for the half of the children of Machir*, on the theory that if Manasseh was divided into halves, Machir must be divided too! With regard to *Machir* we find three traditions, or stages in the tradition: (*a*) Machir was equivalent to *western* Manasseh, Jud. v. 14; (*b*) he was the ancestor of the *eastern* Manassites, Num. xxxii. 39 J, his "brother"-clans being settled in the W., ch. xvii. 1 *b*—2 (? RP); (*c*) according to P he was the ancestor of all the Manassites, both eastern and western, the "brothers" of (*b*) now becoming grandsons, Num. xxvi. 29—32 P. See further on ch. xvii. 1.

32. *These are the inheritances which...distributed*] The same idiom in xiv. 1, xix. 51, Num. xxxiv. 29 P.

the plains of Moab] A phrase peculiar to P. Immediately N. of the Dead Sea the Jordan valley opens out on the E. side into a plain about nine miles from N. to S., and five to seven miles from E. to W., between the river and the mountains of Moab. This was called *the plains* (plur. of *'arābah*, elsewhere used of desert land, e.g. Is. xl. 3, xli. 19) or *the steppes of Moab*; the corresponding plain on the other side of the river was known as *the steppes of Jericho*, iv. 13 *n*. P places the head-quarters of Moses and the Israelites on these *steppes of Moab*, Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, 63 etc.

33. Repeats *v.* 14, but in its correct form: probably a very late addition, as it is omitted by the LXX.

2. *The division of the West: the possessions of Judah,* chs. xiv.—xv.

1. It is now widely held that P's account of the distribution of W. Canaan began with xviii. 1: *And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled themselves together at Shiloh, and set up the tent of meeting there: and the land was subdued before them. And these are the inheritances* etc. (xiv. 1). In its present position xviii. 1 does not fit the context, but when it is

P And these are the inheritances which the children of **14**
Israel took in the land of Canaan, which Eleazar the
priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the
fathers' *houses* of the tribes of the children of Israel,
distributed unto them, by the lot of their inheritance, 2
as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses, for the
nine tribes, and for the half tribe. For Moses had given 3
the inheritance of the two tribes and the half tribe beyond

restored before xiv. 1 everything falls into order: we have an appropriate introduction to the allotment of the *whole* land; the distribution is carried out at the same time and place by the same persons; and xix. 51 forms the fitting conclusion of the entire section. The compiler (RP) broke up the narrative as P arranged it, because he wished to combine with P's scheme of distribution the old tradition that Judah and Joseph obtained their possessions by conquest in advance of the other tribes (see p. 115). Accordingly he moved the scene at Shiloh (xviii. 1) to its present position, and thus made the award to the seven tribes take place after Judah and Joseph had been settled. In so doing the compiler was no doubt true to the older tradition, and presumably to historical facts; but he spoilt the symmetry of P's arrangement.

Eleazar...Joshua] In accordance with P's theory, Eleazar cooperates with Joshua, and even takes precedence of him; cf. xvii. 4, xix. 51, xxi. 1, and see Num. xxvii. 18—21, xxxiv. 17. On the other hand JE represents Joshua as acting alone in the division of the land; cf. *v.* 6, xv. 13, xvii. 14, xviii. 3, 8, 10, xxiv. 1.

heads of the **fathers** *of the tribes*] So xix. 51, xxi. 1, Ex. vi. 25, Num. xxxi. 26, xxxii. 28, xxxvi. 1 (all P) and frequently in Chr., Ezr., Neh.; *fathers*, instead of the more usual *fathers' houses*, i.e. families.

2. *by the lot of their inheritance*] The grammar is unsatisfactory in the Hebr. For *inheritance* the LXX. and Targ. read the cognate verb; following this hint, we may emend with a slight change, **by lot they distributed unto them** (for a possession).

as the LORD commanded etc.] See Num. xxxiv. 13 P.

for the nine...and for the half] Read with several MSS. and Pesh. **to give unto** *the nine...and* **unto** *the half*, as Num. xxxiv. 13.

3. The LXX. omit the first part of this *v.* except *beyond Jordan*, which they connect with the end of *v.* 2. The omission may be due to homoioteleuton, as the preceding sentence (*v.* 2) also ends with *and the half tribe*. It is also possible that the LXX. did not find the words in their Hebr. copy; after xiii. 15 ff. they are certainly superfluous.

Jordan: but unto the Levites he gave none inheritance *P*
4 among them. For the children of Joseph were two
tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim: and they gave no portion
unto the Levites in the land, save cities to dwell in, with
the [1]suburbs thereof for their cattle and for their sub-
5 stance. As the LORD commanded Moses, so the children
of Israel did, and they divided the land. |
6 Then the children of Judah drew nigh unto Joshua *RD*
in Gilgal: and Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite
said unto him, Thou knowest the thing that the LORD
spake unto Moses the man of God concerning me | and *
7 concerning thee | in Kadesh-barnea. Forty years old was *RD*

[1] Or, *pasture lands*

unto the Levites] See xiii. 33.

4. *Joseph...two tribes*] See Gen. xlviii. 5 P; the writer wishes to explain how there came to be nine and a half tribes on the W., or twelve altogether, without Levi.

cities to dwell in] From Num. xxxv. 2 f. P; the setting apart of cities for the habitation (and possession) of the Levites is detailed at length in xxi. 8—42 P. *and their suburbs* occurs very often in P's enumeration of the Levitical cities, also in Ezek., Chr. Strictly the word may have meant *pasture land*, or the place for *driving* cattle (so perhaps in 1 Chr. v. 16), but in actual usage it denoted the common land round a city, in which all the inhabitants had rights; see Ezek. xlviii. 15, 17. *cattle* and *substance* together, as in Gen. xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 23, xxxvi. 6 P.

In *vv.* 6—15, describing the occupation of Hebron by Caleb, we have a passage from RD, based upon JE's narrative in Num. xiii. and xiv. The language shews affinities with J or RJE; but the whole section has been edited in the Dtc. manner.

6. *unto Joshua in Gilgal*] Here the scene is laid in Gilgal (iv. 19 *n.*); the passage, therefore, does not come from the same source as *vv.* 1—5, where the division of the land takes place before the sanctuary of Shiloh, see *v.* 1 *n.*

the Kenizzite] Here and in *v.* 14, Num. xxxii. 12 JE, Jud. i. 13, Caleb belongs to the Kenizzites; in P he is a Judahite, Num. xiii. 6, xxxiv. 19. Kenaz was an Edomite tribe, absorbed later into Judah, Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42, 1 Chr. ii. 9, 18.

the thing that the LORD spake] The reference is to Num. xiv. 24, 30; cf. Dt. i. 36. For the designation of Moses as *the man of God* cf. the titles of Dt. xxxiii. and Ps. xc.

and concerning thee] An editorial addition for the purpose of harmonizing JE with P. In the early account Caleb was the sole leader, and alone attempted to still the people, Num. xiii.

Rd I when Moses the servant of the LORD sent me from
Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land; and I brought him
word again as it was in mine heart. Nevertheless my 8
brethren that went up with me made the heart of the
people melt: but I wholly followed the LORD my God.
And Moses sware on that day, saying, Surely the land 9
whereon thy foot hath trodden shall be an inheritance
to thee and to thy children for ever, because thou hast
wholly followed the LORD my God. And now, behold, 10
the LORD hath kept me alive, as he spake, these forty
and five years, from the time that the LORD spake this
word unto Moses, while Israel walked in the wilderness:
and now, lo, I am this day fourscore and five years old.
As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that 11
Moses sent me: as my strength was then, even so is my

30 f., xiv. 24; whereas in P's version Joshua was one of the spies, and supported Caleb against the popular voice, Num. xiii. 8, 16, xiv. 6, 38.

7. *from Kadesh-barnēa*] See x. 41 *n*. Similarly in Dt. i. 19 Kadesh-barnea is the starting-point of the spies, agreeing with Num. xiii. 26 JE (*and they went...to Kadesh*); in P the wilderness of Paran is the point of departure and return, Num. xiii. 3, 26 (*and they came...to the wilderness of Paran*).

to spy out] D's word in this connexion (*raggēl*), Dt. i. 24; P uses a different word (*tūr*), Num. xiii. 2, 16 etc.

and I brought him word again] So Num. xiii. 26 JE, Dt. i. 22, 25.

8. *made...melt*] The expression used in Dt. i. 28, and perhaps taken from that part of JE's narrative of the spies which has not been preserved. For the metaphor cf. ii. 11 *n*.

wholly followed] *vv*. 9, 14, Num. xiv. 24 JE (of Caleb), xxxii. 11 f. P (of Caleb and Joshua), Dt. i. 36 (of Caleb), Ecclus. xlvi. 6 (of Joshua).

9. *the land whereon thy foot hath trodden*] i.e. Hebron and its neighbourhood. For the promise cf. Num. xiv. 24, and for the expression cf. Dt. i. 36.

10. *these forty and five years*] Caleb declares that he was forty years old when he was sent out as a spy, and he is now eighty-five. Allowing forty years as a round number for the wanderings, or thirty-eight years according to the more precise statement of Dt. ii. 14, Rd must have reckoned five years (or seven) for the period of Joshua's wars. But the Dtc. writers are not consistent; see on xi. 18.

strength now, for war, and to go out and to come in. R_D
12 Now therefore give me this mountain, whereof the LORD
spake in that day; for thou heardest in that day how
the Anakim were there, and cities great and fenced:
it may be that the LORD will be with me, and I shall
13 drive them out, as the LORD spake. And Joshua
blessed him; and he gave Hebron unto Caleb the son
14 of Jephunneh for an inheritance. Therefore Hebron
became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh
the Kenizzite, unto this day; because that he wholly
15 followed the LORD, the God of Israel. Now the name
of Hebron beforetime was [1]Kiriath-arba; *which Arba was*

[1] That is, *The city of Arba.*

11. *to go out and to come in*] So Dt. xxxi. 2, cf. *ib.* xxviii. 6, 19.

12. *for thou heardest*] Render *for thou thyself didst hear* (Jehovah's word) *in that day*; so LXX., Vulg. In the Hebr. the pron. is emphatic: *thou*, as Moses' servant. Then, continuing the request for the stronghold, render *because the Anākim are there*, and must be driven out with God's help. The translation given in the text lacks point: would Caleb remind Joshua that forty-five years before he had heard that the Anākim were in Hebron? For these giants see xi. 21 *n.*; *cities great and fenced* comes from Dt. i. 28.

The present passage, though thoroughly Dtc. in expression, ignores the fact that a Dtc. editor has already noted the capture of Hebron in x. 36 f., and the expulsion of the giants in xi. 21. There is yet another, and a more ancient version of the episode in xv. 13 ff. See p. 99.

13. *Joshua...gave Hebron*] Joshua disposes of the land, as in xvii. 14 ff. J; contrast *v.* 1.

15. *Kiriath-arba*] For the archaeological note see on xi. 10, and cf. Jud. i. 10. The ancient name of Hebron is frequently mentioned by P, e.g. xv. 54, xx. 7, Gen. xxiii. 2; in Gen. xxiii. 19, xxxv. 27 P it is called Mamre. *Kiriath-arba* means "city of four," i.e. of four quarters, Tetrapolis, or possibly, of four gods; cf. Arbela = Arba-il (Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 264); for another explanation see *Judges*, p. 8. The word *arba* is not a proper name, as a late annotator takes it to be here and in xv. 13, xxi. 11; in all three places the LXX. has preserved the true reading, *Kiriath-arba the mother(-city) of the Anāk.* For *mother* = metropolis, cf. the inscription on the coins of Sidon and Tyre: "Of the Sidonians, mother of Kambē" etc., "Of Tyre, the mother of the Sidonians"; *NSI.*, p. 350. By a misunder-

R_D the greatest man among the Anakim. And the land had rest from war. |

P And the lot for the tribe of the children of Judah 15
according to their families was unto the border of Edom,
even to the wilderness of Zin southward, at the uttermost
part of the south. And their south border was from the 2

standing of this use of the word, *mother* was read *father*, *arba* was changed into a man, and a new legend came into existence.

had rest] See on xi. 23.

xv. An element of theory enters into this description of the country assigned to Judah. The southern border, for example, includes Kadesh-barnea in the S. of the Negeb, and follows the line of *the watercourse of Egypt v.* 4, i.e. the Wadi el-'Arīsh, to the sea; but the frequent mention of Beer-sheba, fifty miles N. of Kadesh, as the southern limit of the land, shews where the line was drawn in practice (e.g. Jud. xx. 1, 1 S. iii. 20, 2 S. iii. 10, 1 K. iv. 25 etc.). Again, on the W., Judah never reached the Mediterranean (*v.* 12), for neither the Philistine Plain, nor even the Shephēlah as a whole, was occupied by the Hebrews (see on i. 3 f.). In point of fact Judah was a small country, though it is impossible to give its exact measurements, because the boundaries varied at different times and the descriptions are not consistent: G. A. Smith calculates that, apart from the Shephēlah and the Plain, and measuring from Bethel (somewhat further N. than the line indicated in *v.* 9) to Beer-sheba, Judaea may be reckoned as about fifty-five miles long, and from twenty-five to thirty miles broad, or about 1350 square miles, the size of an average English county such as Wiltshire.

Vv. 1—4 trace the southern border, which, as it coincides with the southern border of the entire land of Israel, is described again in Num. xxxiv. 3—5 P and in Ezek. xlvii. 19: common to all three descriptions are these points, the S. end of the Dead Sea, Kadesh, the watercourse of Egypt, the Mediterranean.

1. *lot...was unto the border*] Here, as in xvi. 1, xvii. 1, *lot* means an allotted portion: in each case the LXX. substitutes *borders*, not realizing this derived sense. The full phrase would be *the border of their lot* xviii. 11.

Edom...wilderness of Zin] Part of the S. border is formed by the Edomite frontier, defined more exactly as *the wilderness of Zin* (see x. 40 *n.*), the name of the desert in which Kadesh was situated, frequently mentioned by P, e.g. Num. xx. 1, xxvii. 14, xxxiii. 36, Dt. xxxii. 51; *Zin v.* 3 is unknown. *southward* is further explained as *at the uttermost part of the south*: the LXX. gives only one definition.

uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the [1]bay that looked P
3 southward: and it went out southward of the ascent of
Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and went up by the
south of Kadesh-barnea, and passed along by Hezron,
4 and went up to Addar, and turned about to Karka: and

[1] Heb. *tongue*.

2. *the Salt Sea*] So the Dead Sea is generally called in the O.T., cf. iii. 16 *n*. Its water is intensely salt and nauseous to the taste; no fish can live in it, and no vegetation near it. At various points along the shores are deep saline deposits, and at the S.E. end a ridge of rock salt, 300 feet high, extends for five miles; moreover, dredging experiments have made it probable that the bottom of the sea is covered with salt crystals. As compared with the water of the ocean, which contains four to six per cent. of solids in solution, that of the Dead Sea contains twenty-four to twenty-six per cent. (*HGHL*., p. 501).

the bay that **looketh**] Lit. *the tongue*, here at the S. end, and now a marsh called es-Sabkha, but formerly submerged; see on *v*. 5, and cf. Is. xi. 15.

3. *and it went out, passed along, went up* etc.] Lit. *and it shall go out, pass along, go up* etc. In these descriptions of the borders (xvi. 2—8, xvii. 9 f., xviii. 12—21, xix. 11—14, 26—29, 34) the writer seems to be transcribing an earlier source which specified the borders in the form of a direction given by God to Joshua, or by Joshua to the people; he has even allowed *this shall be your south border* to remain at the end of *v*. 4: cf. Num. xxxiv. 1—12 from P. On the other hand the verbs might be translated as presents, in a frequentative sense, *goes out, goes up* etc., lit. *used to go* etc. (Driver, *Tenses*, § 120, obs. 1); but it is difficult to carry through such a rendering, since the writer constantly uses the normal idiom of narrative in the context of these descriptions (e.g. *v*. 2 *and...was*), though he did not feel it necessary to alter the tenses which he found in his source, or adapt them to his narrative. See Bennett, *Joshua* (Hebr. Text), p. 23; Gesenius, *Hebr. Gr.*[28], § 112 *ss*.

the ascent of Akrabbim] "The Scorpion's Pass," Num. xxxiv. 4, Jud. i. 36; one of the passes, perhaps the Naḳb eṣ-Ṣafā which lead up to the N.W. from the Wadi el-Fiḳreh at the S. of the Dead Sea. From the latter to the Mediterranean a natural boundary is formed by the Wadis el-Fiḳreh, Marra, el-Abyaḍ, and el-'Arīsh (Buhl, *Geogr*., p. 11); but this is abandoned in order to take in Kadesh-barnea by a deep salient to the S. The line from Kadesh-barnea westwards cannot be traced, for *Hezron, Addar* (Num. l.c. *Hazar-addar*), *Karka* are unknown.

P it passed along to Azmon, and went out at the brook of
Egypt; and the goings out of the border were at the sea:
this shall be your south border. And the east border 5
was the Salt Sea, even unto the end of Jordan. And
the border of the north quarter was from the [1]bay of the
sea at the end of Jordan: and the border went up to 6
Beth-hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-

[1] Heb. *tongue*.

4. *the* **watercourse** *of Egypt*] *v.* 47, Num. xxxiv. 5, 1 K. viii. 65; Is. xxvii. 12, prob. the Wadi el-'Arîsh, cf. xiii. 3 *n.* This long and deep valley, dry except after heavy rain (there was water in it for three days in Jan. 1917), takes its rise from the middle of the desert of et-Tih in the N. of the Sinaitic Peninsula, and runs N. and N.W. till it joins the Mediterranean some fifty miles S. of Gaza, at a place called in ancient times Rhinocolura, which is actually the name of the valley given by the LXX. in Is. xxvii. 12. Modern study of the Assyrian documents has suggested that *Egypt* (*Miṣraim*) in the O.T., like *Muṣur* in Assyrian, sometimes denotes, not the country of the Nile, but a N. Arabian province, including the district through which the W. el-'Arîsh passes. The identification, if it were certain, would account for the name given to this ideal S.W. border of Judah.

your south border] The sudden change from narrative to direct speech is due to the fact that this sentence is taken directly from Num. xxxiv. 3, 6, where the whole description of the borders of Israel appears in the form of an address by Jehovah to Moses. The LXX. wrongly, "this is *their* border on the south." See Driver, *Tenses*, p. 146, *n.* 1.

Vv. 5*b*—11. The northern border of Judah, coinciding with the southern border of Benjamin which is followed in the reverse order, xviii. 14—19.

5. *the bay of the sea at the end of Jordan*] This *tongue* at the N. end, cf. xviii. 19, corresponded with *the tongue* at the S., see on *v.* 2. At the time when the present description was written it is prob. that the Dead Sea extended further N. than it does now, and that *the end of Jordan* was at Ḳaṣr el-Yehûd, some 5 m. N. of the existing mouth. This explains how the N. border of Judah could be described as running from the N. end of the Salt Sea by Beth-hoglah to Jerusalem, *vv.* 5—8. In the 2nd cent. B.C. the N. *tongue* had become a marsh (1 M. ix. 45, Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 1, 3), now it is a dry plain; owing to evaporation the level of the Sea has gradually fallen in the course of ages[1].

6. *Beth-hoglah*] xviii. 19, 21, now represented by the ruins of Ḳaṣr Ḥajleh, three miles N. of the Dead Sea, and two miles W.

[1] See Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Or.* v., § 42.

arabah; and the border went up to the stone of Bohan P
7 the son of Reuben: and the border went up to Debir from the valley of Achor, and so northward, looking toward Gilgal, that is over against the ascent of Adummim, which is on the south side of the river: and the border passed along to the waters of En-shemesh, and

of the ford of Ḥajleh on the Jordan. The town itself belonged to Benjamin.

Beth-arabah] In *v.* 61 said to be *in the wilderness* and a possession of Judah; in xviii. 21 it is a Benjamite town. Site unknown.

the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben] xviii. 17, on the ascent to the Highlands. The stone evidently got its name from a fancied resemblance to *a thumb* (*bōhen*), and tradition connected it with a son of Reuben. It is curious to find a Reubenite legend on this side of the Jordan.

7. *to Debir from the valley of Achor*] Not in xviii. 17. The text is uncertain, as the LXX. rendering shews, "to the fourth part of the valley of Achor." If *Adummim* = Tal'at ed-Dam, the name Debir may survive in Toghret ed-Debr (so G. A. Smith, *Atlas*): a precarious identification. For *the valley of Achor* see on vii. 24; it is perhaps the W. Tal'at ed-Dam (*infr.*) through which the usual road from Jericho to Jerusalem ascends.

and so northward, looking] A direction northward is out of place here; probably *and northward, looking*, which differ only in one consonant, have arisen by mistake from *and turning*; the LXX. gives one word, and that a verb. *Gilgal* is not the Gilgal of Joshua's camp, but another "stone-circle" (see on iv. 19), in xviii. 17 called Gelīloth.

the ascent of Adummim] Probably the Wadi Tal'at ed-Dam, which takes its name from Tal'at ed-Dam, "the hill of blood," a ruined height about half way on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem. The ancient, like the modern, name was no doubt suggested by the *red* colour of the stones in the neighbourhood. In the *Onom.* (92, 10) Adummim is explained as meaning *red* "on account of the blood which is frequently shed there by robbers." The *ascent* is here said to lie *on the south side of the* **watercourse**, which can hardly be any other than the impressive gorge of the W. el-Ḳelt.

the waters of En-shemesh] Implying a copious stream or fountain. This "Spring of the Sun" has been identified with 'Ain el-Ḥōḍ, one and a half miles E. of Bethany on the present road from Jericho; and with the recently discovered 'Ain er-Rawābeh to the N.E. of the Mt of Olives, on the old Jericho road. The situation is quite uncertain; xviii. 17 places it N.E. of En-rogel.

P the goings out thereof were at En-rogel: and the border 8
went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the [1]side
of the Jebusite southward (the same is Jerusalem): and
the border went up to the top of the mountain that
lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is
at the uttermost part of the vale of Rephaim northward:

[1] Heb. *shoulder.*

the goings out thereof were at En-rogel] The phrase[1] denotes the point where a line comes to an end, e.g. *vv.* 4, 11 *at the sea.* Here the furthest point of the border in a southerly direction is marked by En-rogel, cf. 2 S. xvii. 17, 1 K. i. 9. This Spring was either the Bîr Eiyûb ("Job's Well"), S.E. of Jerusalem, where the valley of the Kedron meets the valley of Hinnom, or some spring which has now vanished. It is also possible that En-rogel was the name of a village near the modern Silwân (Smith, *Jerusalem* I., p. 109).

8. The previous *v.* has followed the boundary up the usual road from the Jordan valley and, as it seems, over the Mt of Olives (2641 feet), down to Job's Well (2029 feet). From the last point the line runs in a westerly direction up the valley of Hinnom, below the spur of the S.E. hill of Jerusalem, the ancient stronghold of the Jebusites, until it reaches the highest point (2529 feet) of the valley of Hinnom on the W. of the city; whence the vale of Rephâim stretches from N. to S.

the valley of the son of Hinnom] has been identified with the Tyropaeon valley, which in early times formed a cleft, now filled up, between the S.E. and S.W. hills within Jerusalem; and there is nothing against the identification in the present *v.* Other references, however, imply that the valley lay outside the walls (cf. Jer. vii. 31 f. with *ib.* xxxi. 40, xix. 2 etc.); most likely, then, it corresponded to the W. er-Rabâbi on the S. and S.W. of Jerusalem. In the closing years of the kingdom of Judah the valley earned an evil name as the scene of the rites of Moloch (2 K. xxiii. 10 etc.); hence among the later Jews, as in the N.T., *Ge-hinnom* ("valley of H."), in Gk. *Gehenna*, became an equivalent for *hell*. The origin of the name *son of Hinnom* is unknown; see Smith, *Jerusalem* I., p. 172.

the side of the Jebusite] Lit. *the shoulder* (*vv.* 10, 11, xviii. 12, 13 etc.) of the S.E. hill of Jerusalem, once held by the Jebusites (*v.* 63, Jud. i. 21, 2 S. v. 6—8), and afterwards called "the city of David" and "Zion." *the same is Jerusalem*, probably a gloss, not found in xviii. 16.

the vale of Rephaim] Not a valley, but a plateau, called after

[1] For the Hebr. see Dr G. Buchanan Gray, *Journal of Theol. Studies* IV., p. 124 f.

9 and the border was drawn from the top of the mountain *P*
unto the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah, and went
out to the cities of mount Ephron; and the border was
10 drawn to Baalah (the same is Kiriath-jearim): and the
border turned about from Baalah westward unto mount
Seir, and passed along unto the side of mount Jearim
on the north (the same is Chesalon), and went down to
11 Beth-shemesh, and passed along by Timnah: and the
border went out unto the side of Ekron northward: and
the border was drawn to Shikkeron, and passed along to

an extinct race of giants (xii. 4 *n.*), and famous as David's battle-field, 2 S. v. 18, 22, xxiii. 13; according to Jos., *Ant.* vii. 12, 4, it lay between Jerusalem and Beth-lehem; its present name is el-Buḳei'a.

9. From the N. end of the vale of Rephāim the line *was drawn* or *inclined* to the N.W.

the waters of Nephtoah] Prob. = Liftā, two miles N.W. of Jerusalem, near the Jaffa road, where there is a copious spring[1]; *mount Ephron* is unknown, the word *cities of*, not in the LXX., prob. a scribal error; *Baalah* or *Kiriath-jeārim* prob. = Ḳiryat el-'Enab, five miles N.W. of Liftā (see ix. 17 *n.*).

10. The boundary, hitherto going W., now turns to *mount Seir*, an unidentified height towards the S.W., and passing over *the shoulder of mount Jeārim*, the ridges S.W. of Ḳiryat el-'Enab, by *Chesālon* prob. = Keslā, descends five miles from the latter to *Beth-shemesh*, "the temple of the sun" (xxi. 16, 1 C. vi. 59 [44], changed to Ir-shemesh in ch. xix. 41), now 'Ain Shems, a station on the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, in the W. es-Ṣarār; cf. 1 S. vi. 9, 12, 1 K. iv. 9; it was an ancient sanctuary (cf. 1 S. vi. 14 f.), and the site, which has recently been excavated, contains traces of early occupation. *Timnah* xix. 43 (Dan), Jud. xiv. 1 ff., now Tibneh, lies three miles S.W. of 'Ain Shems on the low hills of the Shephēlah.

11. From the last point the line makes a sharp angle to the N.W., to *Ekron* somewhere near the modern 'Aḳir, see xiii. 3 *n.*

[1] A suggestion has been made by Count Calice (*Or. Lit.-Zeitung*, 1903, p. 224) that the name *fountain of mē nephtoah* ("waters of N.") is a Hebr. transformation of an original *fountain of Meneptaḥ*, called after the Pharaoh Meneptah (c. 1225—1215 B.C.), and referred to in the diary of an Egyptian official in his service: "there arrived the captains of the archers of the Well of Meneptah, which lies (in) the highland." See the text in Driver, *Exodus*, p. xxxvii f. The well-known inscription of Meneptah, which refers to Israel, implies that the Pharaoh made an expedition into Canaan and put down a revolt there.

P mount Baalah, and went out at Jabneel; and the goings out of the border were at the sea. And the west border 12
was to the great sea, and the border *thereof*. This is the border of the children of Judah round about according to their families. |

* And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a portion 13
among the children of Judah, according to the commandment of the LORD to Joshua, even [1]Kiriath-arba, *which*
J *Arba was* the father of Anak (the same is Hebron). | And 14
Caleb drove out thence the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai, the children of Anak. And 15

[1] That is, *The city of Arba.*

Shikkeron and *mount Baalah* are not known; there is nothing like a *mount* in this region, so the reference must be to the rising ground (c. 200 feet) N. of the W. eṣ-Ṣarār, which passes between 'Ākir and Yebnah, the modern representative of *Jabneel* or *Jabneh* (2 Chr. xxvi. 6), in Gk. *Jamnia* (1 Mac. iv. 15 etc., 2 M. xii. 8 f.); after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Jewish Sanhedrin took refuge here, and it became the seat of a Rabbinic school; it is four and a half miles from the coast.

12. *the great sea*] Cf. *v.* 47, and see pp. 4 and 135. For *and the border* cf. xiii. 23 *n.*

13. A late writer has composed this *v.* in the manner of P to introduce the ancient fragment *vv.* 14—19, with the object of explaining how certain portions of Judahite territory came to belong to families which were not Israelite by race. For the previous accounts of the capture of Hebron and Debir see x. 36 ff., xi. 21, and p. 99; for RD's version of the story of Caleb see xiv. 6—15.

he gave a portion] So xiv. 4 P. The subj. of the verb is Joshua; *according to the commandment of the* LORD *to Joshua* thus follows awkwardly. It was Moses, not Joshua, who received the divine command to reward Caleb, Num. xiv. 24 JE. Probably the verse is not in its original form.

Kiriath-arba] See on xiv. 15.

Vv. 14—19, and the corresponding fragment Jud. i. 10—15, are extracts from an ancient account of the invasion of Canaan, which either formed part of the Jehovist history, or existed as an independent narrative; for convenience, and to mark their early character, they may be designated J.

14. *the three* **giants**...*the children of Anak*] are mentioned in Num. xiii. 22 in connexion with the visit of the spies to Hebron; the superfluous words, *children of Anak*, do not occur in the LXX. nor in Jud. i. 10, and probably come from Num. l.c. The names

he went up thence against the inhabitants of Debir: *J*
now the name of Debir beforetime was Kiriath-sepher.
16 And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and
taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife.
17 And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb,

suggest an Aramaic, rather than a Canaanite origin. *Sheshai*, cf. Shashai Ezr. x. 40, may be related to the Shasu, "plunderers," or Bedouin of S. Canaan, frequently mentioned in Egyptian monuments, though philologically the names are not identical; Sheshan in 1 Chr. ii. 31 ff. is a similar name belonging to this region. *Ahiman*, 1 Chr. ix. 17, prob. = "brother of Mēnī," the god of fortune (Is. lxv. 11). *Talmai* is found among the Geshurites, an Aram. tribe (xiii. 13, 2 S. iii. 3, xiii. 37), and in Nabataean inscriptions from N. Arabia (*CIS.* II. 321, 344, 348), and as the name of kings of Liḥyān, an Arabian tribe (Müller, *Epigr. Denkmäler aus Arabien*, nos. 4, 9, 25, from el-'Ōla).

Most likely Caleb made his way up from the S. when he attacked Hebron. Underlying the story there seems to be a dim recollection of the fact that the various clans which were afterwards absorbed into Judah, the Calebites, Kenites, Jerahmeelites, entered Canaan from the S. by advancing from Kadesh or the southern desert.

15. *Debir...Kiriath-sepher*] Debir (*v.* 49 f., x. 38 f., xi. 21, xxi. 15) must have lain somewhere between Hebron and Anab (cf. *v.* 49 f., xi. 21 *n.*); edh-Dhāhariyeh, twelve miles S.W. of the former and three miles E. of the latter, would suit the requirements, though the names have nothing in common, and the site has not revealed any traces of early occupation. An Egyptian papyrus (Anastasi I.) of the twelfth cent. B.C. mentions two places together in this region, Ḳart-'anabu and Baith-Thupar; if we may suppose, with W. M. Müller[1], that the prefixes have been transposed, then Baith-'anabu will = Anab, and Ḳart-Thupar "city of the scribe" will = Kiriath-sepher, which should be read K.-sōphēr, to agree with the Egyptian form. This may have been the original pronunciation of K.-sepher "book town," LXX. "city of letters"; but it is not safe to build much upon the apparent significance of the name, however pronounced; the traditional "sepher" may be only a Hebraized form of an unfamiliar word, e.g. *K.-sephūr* "enclosed city" (Assyr. *supūru*). In *v.* 49 the name is written *Kiriath-sannah*, though the LXX. read it, as here, "city of letters." The meaning of *Debir* is equally uncertain; x. 38 *n.*

16. *to him will I give Achsah*] Cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 25. *Achsah* means an ankle ornament worn by women (Is. iii. 18).

17. *Othniel the son of Kenaz*] Kenaz is the name of the

[1] *Asien u. Europa*, p. 174; similarly Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 349.

J took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.
And it came to pass, when she came *unto him*, that she 18
moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted
down from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What
wouldest thou? And she said, Give me a [1]blessing; 19
for that thou hast [2]set me in the land of the South, give
me also springs of water. And he gave her the upper
springs and the nether springs. |

[1] Or, *present* [2] Or, *given me the land of the South*

Edomite tribe to which both Caleb (xiv. 6, 14) and Othniel belonged: "the son of Kenaz," therefore, is equivalent to "the Kenizzite." Kenaz being a tribe, we may infer that Othniel and Caleb were really clans or families belonging to it; as a tribal name *Othniel* may be compared with *Israel*, *Jerahmeel*. We have, then, here a tribal tradition handed down under the guise of a story about individuals. In Jud. i. 13 Othniel is called "the younger brother of Caleb," to account for his being of an age to marry Caleb's daughter; the marriage of an uncle and niece was not forbidden. Cf. also Jud. iii. 9 ff.

18. *when she came* unto him] i.e. to be his wife; cf. Ruth iv. 11.

she moved him] In Jud. i. 14 the LXX. and Vulg. imply the reading *he moved her*, and so eight MSS. of the LXX. and Vulg. here; this is certainly more natural, since it is Achsah, not Othniel, who asks the boon in *v.* 19. But if *he moved her* is original, why was it altered in both places to the more difficult reading of the present text?

and she lighted down] Leaving Othniel, she went herself to her father, and *lighted down* (only here, and Jud. i. 14, iv. 21 "it pierced through"), prob. in order to shew him the place that she wanted: Caleb's question implies this.

19. *a blessing*] i.e. a gift as a token of good will; cf. Gen. xxxiii. 11, 1 S. xxv. 27, 2 K. v. 15 etc.

thou hast set me in the land of the South] i.e. in the waterless Negeb, where Debir was situated. This rendering (so LXX.) is preferable to that of the margin.

springs of water] As the reference seems to be to a specified place, we should follow the LXX. and take this as a pr. n., *Gullath-* or *Golath-maim*, and similarly read *Upper Gullath and Lower Gullath* for "the upper springs and the nether springs," changing the plur. of the text into a sing.; *Gullath* or *Golath*, pronounced *gulloth* in the text, will then resemble other old Canaanite names ending in *ath*, e.g. Baalath, Maărath (*v.* 59). The word does not mean *springs*; in Zech. iv. 3, 1 K. vii. 41 it = *a bowl*, lit. "something rounded"; in the present connexion, therefore, "a reservoir," or "a spring walled round." Perhaps

20 This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of *P*
Judah according to their families.
21 And the uttermost cities of the tribe of the children
of Judah toward the border of Edom in the South were
22 Kabzeel, and Eder, and Jagur; and Kinah, and Dimonah,
23 and Adadah; and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Ithnan; Ziph,
24

the springs of Seil ed-Dilbeh, which fertilize a valley S.W. of Hebron, correspond with Upper and Lower Gullath; but there are springs further S. which would equally suit the narrative. This attractive story was no doubt told to explain how the springs came to be in the possession of the Othnielites of Debir, when they ought properly to belong to the Calebites of Hebron. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 22—33.

20. *This is the inheritance*] The possessions of Judah are grouped according to the natural divisions of the country, in the Negeb (*v.* 21 ff.), in the Shephēlah (*vv.* 33 ff.), in the Hill country (*v.* 48 ff.), in the Wilderness (*v.* 61 f.).

With regard to the thirty-six towns in *vv.* 21—32 it is to be noticed that (*a*) eighteen of them are mentioned in xix. 2—8, and seventeen in 1 Chr. iv. 28—31, as belonging to Simeon, and nine in Neh. xi. 25—29 as inhabited by the children of Judah after the exile; (*b*) the names differ a good deal in form, owing partly to textual corruption, also no doubt to changes introduced as time went on; (*c*) the eleven names from *Ezem v.* 29 to *Rimmon v.* 32 are repeated in the same order in xix. and 1 Chr. iv., shewing that all three lists were to some extent based upon a common source; (*d*) twenty-nine is given as the total, whereas thirty-six towns are named; the discrepancy can be accounted for by scribal errors, and by the interpolation of five names from Neh. xi. 26, 27.

21. *the South*] See on x. 40. *Kabzeel*, in Neh. xi. 25 Jekabzeel, the home of Benaiah 2 S. xxiii. 20. The situation of this and of the next four towns is unknown.

22. *Kinah* was perhaps called after the Kenites, who lived in the Negeb, 1 S. xxx. 29. *Dimonah* may = Dibon Neh. xi. 25; cf. the interchange of Dibon and Dimon in Is. xv. 2, 9. *Adadah*, LXX. Arouel, is prob. miswritten for *Ararah*, which may = Aroer in 1 S. xxx. 28, now 'Ar'āra, a ruined site fifteen miles S.E. of Beer-sheba. If this identification is correct, the towns are mentioned in an order which goes from S. to N.

23. *Kedesh* is to be distinguished from Kadesh-barnea. *Hazor* = "an enclosure," or "camp" of wandering shepherds; a common name, cf. *vv.* 25, 27, 28. LXX. cod. A reads *Ithnan-Ziph* as one word.

24. *Ziph* (without *and* before it) is not the same as Ziph in *v.* 55. *Telem* = Telaim 1 S. xv. 4, which is to be read Tēlām

P and Telem, and Bealoth; and Hazor-hadattah, and 25
Kerioth-hezron (the same is Hazor); Amam, and Shema, 26
and Moladah; and Hazar-gaddah, and Heshmon, and 27
Beth-pelet; and Hazar-shual, and Beer-sheba, and 28
Biziothiah; Baalah, and Iim, and Ezem; and Eltolad, 29 30
and Chesil, and Hormah; and Ziklag, and Madmannah, 31

(1 S. xxvii. 8, see LXX.), in the E. of the Negeb. *Beāloth* = Baālath-beer xix. 8.

25. *Hazor-hadattah* i.e. "new Hazor"; *hadattah* is pure Aramaic for *new*, and prob. a late addition, not recognized by the LXX. *Kerioth-hezron*, one name; so LXX., Pesh., as against the M.T.; prob. Ḳaryatēn, twelve miles S. of Hebron.

26. *Shema* = Sheba xix. 2, and Jeshua Neh. xi. 26; perh. the ruin Sa'wi, twelve miles N.E. of Beer-sheba. *Moladah* (in the three other lists) may be the Malatha of Jos., *Ant.* xviii. 6, 2, according to the *Onom.* (87, 22; 214, 55 etc.) four Roman miles N.W. of 'Arād, perh. at Derējās (Buhl, p. 183).

27. *Beth-pelet*, again in Neh. xi. 26.

28. *Hazar-shual*, = "fox-cote," and *Beer-sheba* appear in the three other lists. The latter is still called Bir es-seba' = "the well of seven," or, as the Hebrews took it to mean, "well of (the) oath" Gen. xxi. 31 E, xxvi. 33 J. The seven wells remain, and supply excellent water; on the hills to the N. of the Wadi es-Seba' are scattered ruins, testifying to the ancient importance of the place. Beer-sheba marked the southernmost point of the land of Israel in ordinary speech; see p. 135. *and Biziothiah* is merely a mistake for *and her daughters* (LXX., and Neh. xi. 27), the difference in Hebr. being very slight. The expression *and her daughters*, i.e. dependent villages, generally comes from J, e.g. xvii. 11, 16, Num. xxi. 25 etc., though it occurs in *vv.* 45, 47, see *n.*

29. *Baalah* = Balah xix. 3 = Bilhah 1 Chr. iv. 29. The same passages mention *Ezem*, but not *Iim*.

30. *Eltolad* xix. 4, in 1 Chr. iv. 29 without the prefixed *el*. The name *Chesil* is corrupt; LXX. Baithel, xix. 4 Bethul, 1 Chr. iv. 30 Bethuel; it is prob. the Bethel, to be read *Bethuel*, mentioned in 1 S. xxx. 27. For *Hormah* see xii. 14 *n.*

31. *Ziklag* appears in the three other lists. It comes into the history of David, and was in the possession of the Philistines before it belonged to Judah, 1 S. xxvii. 6, xxx. 1 ff. The ruin Zuḥeilīḳah, on the Philistine Plain, ten miles E.S.E. of Gaza, has been suggested for the site. *Madmannah* in xix. 5, 1 Chr. iv. 31 is called Beth-marcāboth, i.e. "house of chariots," prob. because it was used as a military depot, cf. 1 K. ix. 19, x. 26; this makes it likely that the town lay on the Philistine Plain, where chariots could be used. *Sansannah* = Hazar-susah xix. 5 = Hazar-susim 1 Chr. iv. 31, i.e. "camp of horses."

32 and Sansannah; and Lebaoth, and Shilhim, and Ain, *P*
and Rimmon: all the cities are twenty and nine, with
their villages.
33 In the lowland, Eshtaol, and Zorah, and Ashnah;
34 and Zanoah, and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam;

32. *Lebāoth* = Beth-lebāoth xix. 6, in 1 Chr. iv. 31 Beth-biri. The true form of *Shilhim* is prob. *Sharuhen* xix. 6 (1 Chr. l.c. Shaaraim), the Canaanite fortress Sharahan on the road from Egypt to Gaza, mentioned in Egyptian documents of the 18th Dynasty. *Ain, and Rimmon* to be read here and in xix. 7 as one name (LXX.), *En rimmon* Neh. xi. 29; in the three other lists; mentioned in Zech. xiv. 10 as marking a southern limit (Rimmon), and prob. to be identified with Kh. Umm er-Rumāmīn, nine miles N.E. of Beer-sheba, on the border of the Negeb and the Shephēlah; this fairly suits the position of Erembon given in the *Onom.* 256, 92. At a short distance to the N. of er-Rumāmīn is the spring of Khuweilfeh, an important watering-place for the Bedouin: the one name was thus readily divided into two.

all the cities are twenty and nine] As a matter of fact they are thirty-six. But *Biziothiah* in *v.* 28 is not a city, and *Ain and Rimmon* are really one; this reduces the total to thirty-four. The remaining surplus is explained by the interpolation of five names into *vv.* 26—28 from Neh. xi. 26, 27, viz. Shema, Moladah, Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual, Beer-sheba and its daughter towns. A later editor missed these names, known in his day as towns occupied by Judah, and added them to the present list.

33. *In the lowland*] i.e. the Shephēlah, ix. 1 *n.* The towns named in *vv.* 33—44 indicate the situation and extent of the district. *Eshtaol* and *Zorah* are generally mentioned together, and as Danite possessions, xix. 41, Jud. xiii. 25, xviii. 2, 8, 11; but the settlements of Dan in the South were in time absorbed by Judah, cf. Neh. xi. 29. The site of Zorah, an ancient Canaanite town (Amarna Letters, 173, 21), may be considered certain; the name is preserved in Ṣar'a (1171 feet), fifteen miles W. of Jerusalem. *Eshtaol* prob. = Eshū' (878 feet), about one and a half miles N.E. of Sar'a, up the valley which branches off northwards from the W. eṣ-Ṣarār. Both places overlook the broad basin of the wadi, near its entrance into the Judaean highlands. *Ashnah* in the N.E. of the Shephēlah, to be distinguished from the Ashnah of *v.* 43, which must have been further S.

34. *Zanoah* Neh. xi. 30, prob. = Kh. Zānū', a ruin about two miles S. of 'Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh) and of the opening of the W. eṣ-Ṣarār. Another Zanoah is mentioned in *v.* 56. *En-gannim*, "the spring of the gardens," may be represented by the ruins at Umm-jīna, one mile S. of 'Ain Shems. *Tappuah* 1 Chr. ii. 43. Site unknown; not the Tappuah of xii. 17, xvi. 8 etc. **the**

P Jarmuth, and Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah; and Shaaraim, 35
and Adithaim, and Gederah, and Gederothaim; fourteen 36
cities with their villages.

Zenan, and Hadashah, and Migdal-gad; and Dilan, 37
and Mizpeh, and Joktheel; Lachish, and Bozkath, and 38
Eglon; and Cabbon, and [1]Lahmam, and Chithlish; and 39
Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah, and Makkedah; 40
sixteen cities with their villages. 41

Libnah, and Ether, and Ashan; and Iphtah, and 42
43

[1] Or, *Lahmas*

Enam = Enaim ("two springs") of Gen. xxxviii. 14, 21, stood on the way from Adullam to Timnah.

35. For *Jarmuth* see x. 3 *n.*; *Adullam*, xii. 15 *n.*; *Socoh, and Azekah*, x. 11 *n.*

36. *Shaaraim* is perhaps mentioned in 1 S. xvii. 52. The LXX. here reads *Sakareim*; hence it has been proposed to identify the place with Tell Zakarīyeh, N.W. of Socoh, at the entrance of the W. es-Sunt. *Adithaim* is om. by LXX. *Gedērah* (cf. xii. 13 *n.*) is not the same as Gedēroth *v.* 41; it may be the ruin called Kh. Jedīreh, five and a half miles N.W. of 'Ain Shems. *and Gederothaim* is prob. merely a mistaken repetition of the preceding word; LXX. reads it as "and its villages." Omitting this, the total of *fourteen cities* is correct. The LXX., which leaves out Adithaim and Gederothaim, obtains the fourteen by inserting "and Membra" in *v.* 35.

37. This group lies S. and W. of the towns in *vv.* 33—36.

Zenan, prob. = Zaanan Mic. i. 11, and *Hadashah* are unknown. *Migdal-gad* "tower of Gad," possibly = Kh. Mejādīl, thirteen miles S. of Bēt Jibrīn.

38. *Dilan* and *Joktheel* are unknown. *Mizpeh* evidently stood on a height (see xi. 3 *n.*); the *Onom.* (279, 18) mentions a place of this name N. of Eleutheropolis = Bēt Jibrīn.

39. For *Lachish* and *Eglon* see x. 3 *n.* *Bozkath*, again 2 K. xxii. 1.

40. *Cabbon* is unknown; hardly el-Ḳubeibeh, three and a half miles S.W. of Bēt Jibrīn. The reading of MSS. and Edd. varies between *Lahman* and *Lahmas*; on philological grounds the former is to be preferred; possibly el-Laḥm, three miles S. of Bēt Jibrīn. *Chithlish* is unknown.

41. *Gederoth* (cf. on *v.* 36), *Beth-dagon* (also in Asher, xix. 27), *Naamah* cannot be identified. For *Maḳḳēdah* see x. 10 *n.*

42. The situation of this group is very uncertain.

For *Libnah* see x. 29 *n.* *Ether* and *Ashan* (1 Chr. iv. 32) appear in the list xix. 7, the only Simeonite towns in the Shephēlah. For

44 Ashnah, and Nezib; and Keilah, and Achzib, and Mare- *P*
shah; nine cities with their villages. |

Ether the LXX. has Ithak = Athach in 1 S. xxx. 30 = Tochen in 1 Chr. iv. 32. *Ashan*, a town of the priests 1 Chr. vi. 59, is mis-written Ain in ch. xxi. 16 (see LXX.); it is mentioned beside Athach in 1 S. xxx. 30.

43. The three towns cannot be traced. *Nezib* has been identified with Bēt Naṣīb, five and a half miles S.E. of Bēt Jibrīn; but this is too far E., and too much among the hills, to belong to the Shephēlah.

44. *Keilah* Neh. iii. 17, plays a part in the history of David, 1 S. xxiii. 1—13. Kh. Ḳīlā, six miles N.E. of Bēt Jibrīn, recalls the name, but it is not in the Shephēlah. *Achzib* Mic. i. 14, possibly = Chezib Gen. xxxviii. 5; to be distinguished from the Achzib in xix. 29. Of the suggested sites, 'Ain el-Kezbeh, between Jarmûth and Socoh (*v.* 35), is too far N.; Ḳussābeh, S.E. of Tell el-Ḥesy, bears no real resemblance to the name. *Marēshah* Mic. i. 15, 2 Chr. xx. 37, comes a good deal into history, e.g. 2 C. xi. 8, xiv. 9. In post-exilic times it was held by the Edomites or Idumaeans (cf. 2 M. xii. 35), who were attacked there by Judas Maccabaeus in 163 B.C. (1 M. v. 66, read *Marissa*, the Gk. name of the town, for *Samaria*, cf. Jos., *Ant.* xii. 8, 6), and again by John Hyrcanus in 110 B.C. (*Ant.* xiii. 9, 1; 10, 2); afterwards it was restored to the Idumaeans by Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 4, 4). The last time we hear of the town is in 40 B.C., when it was destroyed by the Parthians (*Ant.* xiv. 13, 9). After this the population must have transferred itself to a new site, the neighbouring Eleutheropolis = Bēt Jibrīn, which is first mentioned in 68 A.D. (Betabris = Bethogabra, *War* iv. 8, 1), and became the chief town of the district; this explains why Bēt Jibrīn does not appear in the O.T. The ancient name is preserved at Kh. Merāsh, one mile to the S. (cf. *Onom.* 279, 27); a little to the E., at Tell Sandaḥannah, the ancient necropolis of Marēshah has been excavated in recent years, and some remarkable painted tombs, the only specimens so far known in Palestine, have been discovered there[1].

The list of towns in the Shephēlah now comes to an end. In *vv.* 45—47 three of the Philistine cities on the Plain are included as part of Judah's possessions. Such a claim, however, cannot be reconciled with any ancient tradition; see on xiii. 3. This section was no doubt added by a later editor, familiar with the language of P, to support the theory that the Israelite border

[1] See Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Pal.* 1902, p. 67; Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, 1905. Judging from the Gk. inscrr. on them, some of the tombs belong to c. 200 B.C. The style of decoration came from Alexandria.

* Ekron, with her [1]towns and her villages: from Ekron 45
even unto the sea, all that were by the side of Ashdod, 46
with their villages.

Ashdod, her towns and her villages; Gaza, her towns 47
and her villages; unto the brook of Egypt, and the great
sea, and the border *thereof.* |

P And in the hill country, Shamir, and Jattir, and Socoh; 48

[1] Heb. *daughters.*

extended beyond the Shephēlah across the Philistine Plain down to the sea. The expression *with her daughters* (*vv.* 45, 47) does not belong to P's vocabulary; on the other hand, the writer makes use of P's phrases *and her* (*their*) *villages, the watercourse of Egypt, the great sea and the border.*

45. *Ekron*, see xiii. 3 *n.*; in xix. 43 assigned to Dan.

with her towns] Lit. *daughters*, characteristic of JE, xvii. 11, Num. xxi. 25, xxxii. 42, and cf. *v.* 28 *n.* For *and her villages* cf. *v.* 32 etc., xiii. 23 *n.*

47. For *Ashdod* and *Gaza* see xi. 22 *n.* and x. 41 *n.* It is curious that Ashkelon is not included, for Jud. i. 18 represents it as having been captured by Judah. For *the watercourse of Egypt* see *v.* 4 *n.* and xiii. 3 *n.*; for the next phrase (cf. *v.* 12) see xiii. 23 *n.*; here, however, the Hebr. text has "and the sea was the border and a border," for which the Hebr. margin, followed by R.V., lit. reads "and the great sea and a border," as Num. xxxiv. 6, i.e. "and (unto) the great sea and along." The Hebr. is somewhat harsh, and, on the analogy of Num. l.c., it has been proposed to read "*and the border was* the great sea and along"; but this is not what the writer seems to intend.

48. By *the hill country*, lit. *the mountain*, is meant the Central Range, which was divided, according to the tribes upon it (xx. 7) into the hill country of Judah (xxi. 11), of Ephraim (xvii. 15, 16, 18), of Naphtali (xx. 7); but the Hebrews realized that these districts formed parts of a single range, though interrupted by the Plain of Esdraelon, and so used *the mountain* as a collective designation of the whole, ix. 1, x. 40, xi. 16. In *vv.* 48—60 the part belonging to Judah is marked out, beginning from the S., twelve to fourteen miles S. of Hebron, and reaching to about nineteen miles N. of it. The whole region is broken up into grey limestone hills, generally bare of vegetation but not altogether unfruitful, for olives and terraced vineyards are met with on the slopes, and in the valleys small patches of cultivated soil. There are no perennial streams in the Judaean plateau, and few springs; the water-supply depends chiefly on the winter rains, stored in pools and cisterns.

Shamir perhaps = Kh. Sōmerah (2090 feet), thirteen miles

40 and Dannah, and Kiriath-sannah (the same is Debir); *P*
50 51 and Anab, and Eshtemoh, and Anim; and Goshen, and
Holon, and Giloh; eleven cities with their villages.
52 Arab, and Dumah, and Eshan; and Janim, and Beth-
53 54 tappuah, and Aphekah; and Humtah, and Kiriath-arba
(the same is Hebron), and Zior; nine cities with their
villages.
55 Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and Jutah; and Jezreel, and
56

S.W. of Hebron. *Jattir*, a town of the priests xxi. 14, 1 C. vi. 57, is mentioned again in 1 S. xxx. 27, 2 S. xxiii. 38 (LXX.), perhaps = 'Attir, six and a half miles S.E. of Kh. Sōmerah, thirteen miles S.W. of Hebron. *Socoh*, not the Socoh of *v.* 35, but Kh. Shuweikeh, three miles N. of 'Attir.

49. *Dannah* has not been found; Idhna, five miles S.E. of Bēt Jibrīn (G. A. Smith's *Atlas*), lies too far from the other members of this group. For *Kiriath-sannah*, a variant of Kiriath-sepher which the LXX. reads here, see on *v.* 15.

50. *Anab*, see xi. 21 *n.* *Eshtemoh*, usually *Eshtemoa*, one of the priests' towns xxi. 14, 1 C. vi. 57, occurs again in 1 S. xxx. 28, 1 C. iv. 17, 19; in the time of Eusebius it was "a very large village of the Judaeans" (*Onom.* 93, 16; 254, 70); now es-Semū'a, situated on a height (2272 feet), and still inhabited, eight and a half miles S.S.W. of Hebron. *Anim* may be el-Ghuwein, three miles S. of es-Semū'a.

51. *Goshen*, see x. 41 *n.* *Holon*, a priestly town xxi. 15 = Hilen 1 C. vi. 58, and *Giloh*, the home of Ahithophel 2 S. xv. 12, xxiii. 34, are unknown.

52. *Arab*, 2 S. xxiii. 35, perhaps = er-Rabiyeh, seven miles S.W. of Hebron (Smith's *Atlas*). *Dumah* probably = ed-Dōmeh, three miles W. of the last named, with considerable ruins; this fairly agrees with the situation, seventeen Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, given in *Onom.* 250, 68. *Eshan*, LXX. Soma, is unknown.

53. *Janim* and *Aphēkah* are unknown. *Beth-tappuah* probably = Teffuḥ, three and a half miles N.W of Hebron (cf. 1 C. ii. 43), on a high hill in a district which abounds in fruit-trees (*tappuah* = "apple").

54. *Humtah* is unknown. For *Kiriath-arba* *v.* 13, see on xiv. 15. *Zior* perhaps = Sa'īr, four and a half miles N. of Hebron.

55. The towns of this group were situated S. of Hebron. *Maon*, 1 S. xxv. 2, lay on the edge of the wilderness of Judah, which in this neighbourhood was known as "the wilderness of Maon," where David took refuge, 1 S. xxiii. 24 f., xxv. 1 (LXX.). The name survives in the ruined site Ma'īn, eight miles S. of Hebron. *Carmel* has associations with Saul and David, 1 S. xv.

P Jokdeam, and Zanoah; Kain, Gibeah, and Timnah; 57
ten cities with their villages.

Halhul, Beth-zur, and Gedor; and Maarath, and Beth- 58
anoth, and Eltekon; six cities with their villages. 59

12, xxv. 2 ff., xxvii. 3, prob. mentioned in the Am. letters 104, 26[1]; now Kh. Karmal, one mile N. of Ma'în. *Ziph* is also associated with Saul and David, 1 S. xxiii. 14 ff., xxvi. 2 ff., Ps. liv. title, 2 C. xi. 8. It gave its name to the barren region N. of "the wilderness of Maon," and survives at Tell Zîf, four miles S.E. of Hebron. *Jutah* xxi. 16 = Yuttâ, a large village on a height (3747 feet), three miles S.W. of Tell Zîf, five and a half miles S.W. of Hebron. This agrees with the position given in *Onom.* 133, 10; 266, 49.

56. *Jezreel*, 1 S. xxv. 43, xxvii. 3, xxx. 5 etc., must have been somewhere in this district. *Jokdeam* and *Zanoah* (not the Zanoah of *v.* 34) are unknown.

57. No traces of *Kain*, *Gibeah*, *Timnah* have been found.

58. The towns of this group lay N. of Hebron. *Halhul* survives as the name of a village four miles N. of Hebron. A mile N. of Halhul lies the ruined site of *Beth-zur* "house of (the) rock," 1 C. ii. 45, 2 C. xi. 7, Neh. iii. 16, often mentioned in the history of the Maccabaean wars as a stronghold of the Jews against the Idumaean border, 1 Macc. iv. 29, 61, vi. 7, 26 ff. etc., Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 5, 6, "the strongest place in all Judaea"; *Onom.* 104, 27; 235, 25. *Gedor* = Kh. Jedûr, three miles N. of Bêt Sûr.

59. *Maărath* and *Ettĕkon* have left no traces. *Beth-anōth*, perhaps for Beth-anâth (xix. 38, a different place), i.e. "temple of (the goddess) 'Anâth," may = Kh. Bêt 'Ainûn, three miles N.E. of Hebron.

At this point the LXX. adds a further group: *Tekoa, and Ephrath (the same is Beth-lehem), and Peor, and Etam, and Kolon, and Tatam, and Sores, and Kerem, and Gallim, and Bether, and Manahath; eleven cities and their villages.*

The addition has every appearance of belonging to the original text; it completes the survey of Judah up to the northern boundary; without it, the important district of which Bethlehem forms a centre would be unaccountably passed over.

Tekoa was the home of Amos the prophet, Am. i. 1, and is frequently mentioned, e.g. 2 S. xiv. 2, Jer. vi. 1; the neighbouring desert to the E. was called "the wilderness of Tekoa," 2 C. xx. 20, 1 M. ix. 33; now Teḳû'a, six miles S. of Beth-lehem. For *Ephrath (the same is Beth-lehem)* see Gen. xxxv. 19, Mic. v. 2, 1 C. iv. 4. *Peor* appears in the *Onom.* (300, 4) as Phogor near Beth-lehem; perhaps Bêt Fajjûr, three miles W. of Tekoa, or Kh. Fajjûr in the same neighbourhood. *Etam*, 2 C. xi. 6,

[1] Ginti-Kimil, i.e. wine-press (*gath*) of Carmel; for the reading and translation see Gressmann, *Texte u. Bilder*, p. 133.

60 Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), and Rabbah; *P*
two cities with their villages.
61 In the wilderness, Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah;
62 and Nibshan, and the City of Salt, and En-gedi; six
cities with their villages. |
63 And as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, *J*
the children of Judah could not drive them out: but
the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jeru-
salem, unto this day.

Jos., *Ant.* viii. 7, 3; 10, 1; perhaps 'Ain 'Aṭān, just S. of Beth-lehem. *Kolon* or *Kulon* may be the ancient name of Ḳalōniyeh (less prob. derived from *colonia*), four miles W. of Jerusalem. *Tatam* is unknown. *Sores* perhaps = Sārīs, on the Ramleh road from Jaffa, nine miles W. of Jerusalem. *Kerem* perhaps = the large village of 'Ain Kārim, four miles W. of the city. *Gallim* is unknown. *Bether* perhaps = Bittir, four and a half miles N.W. of Beth-lehem, on the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway. *Manahath*, which the LXX. writes *Manochō*, may be the town mentioned in 1 C. viii. 6, cf. *ib.* ii. 52, 54 and *Judges* (C.B.), p. 131.

60. For *Kiriath-jeārim* see *v.* 9, ix. 17 *n.* *Rabbah* is unknown.

61. The *wilderness* of Judah is the barren, rocky country, sometimes called *Jeshīmon*, i.e. "devastation" (1 S. xxiii. 19, 24), which lies between the Central Range and the western side of the Dead Sea. "It carries the violence and desolation of the Dead Sea Valley right up to the heart of the country, to the roots of the Mount of Olives, to within two hours of the gates of Hebron, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem" (*HGHL.*, p. 314). From S. to N. its different regions bore the names of the wilderness of Maon, of Ziph, of Tekoa (see on *vv.* 55, 59): it contained but few habitable places. *Beth-arabah*, see *v.* 6 *n.* *Middin* and *Secacah* are unknown.

62. *Nibshan* is unknown. The *City of Salt*, as the context implies, was prob. near the Dead Sea, and therefore not connected with W. el-Milh, which perhaps = the Valley of Salt (2 S. viii. 13 etc.), and lies E. of Beer-sheba in the Negeb. *En-gedi* "the spring of the kid," 1 S. xxiii. 29, xxiv. 1, Ezek. xlvii. 10, now 'Ain Jedī, on the W. of the Dead Sea; from the foot of a precipice there breaks a stream of fresh water, which quickens a luxuriant and still cultivated oasis in the surrounding desolation. The spot was famous in ancient times for its wine, palms and balsams (Song i. 14, Jos., *Ant.* ix. 1, 2), and in the fourth cent. A.D. supported a large village (*Onom.* 254, 66). Scott places there a scene in *The Talisman*, ch. ii.

63. This verse belongs to the series of fragments referred to in xiii. 13 *n.* It corresponds to Jud. i. 21, where, however, *the*

J And the lot for the children of Joseph went out from 16

children of Judah have been changed into *the children of Benjamin*, to agree with the theory that Jerusalem was included in Benjamin's territory, xviii. 28 P.

3. *The possessions of Joseph: Ephraim and Manasseh*, chs. xvi.—xvii.

The scheme of P, which has dealt with Judah in such elaborate detail, is greatly modified in the case of Joseph. An extract from J describes the southern border, xvi. 1—3, and then a start is made again with the borders of Ephraim, *vv.* 4—9 P; cf. the duplicated account in xiii. 8—10 and 15—21. But no list of towns is given, though P probably contained such a list for Ephraim and Manasseh, as for the other tribes (xv., xviii. f.). Why the compiler, RP, left it out can only be guessed: Wellhausen thinks that hostility to the Samaritans prompted the excision of the towns of Samaria; but it seems more likely that the compiler wished to make room for certain extracts from earlier sources, such as xvii. 14—18, which referred to a state of things inconsistent with a list of tribal possessions; and it was the less necessary to multiply details, because the borders of Ephraim-Manasseh might be inferred from the full account of the boundaries of the neighbouring tribes (Dillmann).

In ch. xvi., *vv.* 1—3, 10 most probably belong to J, *vv.* 4—9 to P; while J speaks of *Joseph* as one tribe, *v.* 1, xvii. 14—18, in P Joseph is made up of *Manasseh and Ephraim*, and Manasseh comes first, *v.* 4, cf. xvii. 1, although, with apparent inconsistency, Ephraim's border (xvi. 5 ff.) is described before Manasseh's (xvii. 7 ff.): the reason for this may be the compiler's desire to fit the narrative into the early fragment, *vv.* 1—3, which lays down the southern border of Joseph, i.e. of Ephraim.

The analysis of ch. xvii. is much more complicated. *Vv.* 1—10 come from P, with later additions in *vv.* 1 *b*—2, 5 f., 8; *vv.* 11—13 may safely be ascribed to J. Opinions differ as to the source of *vv.* 14—18. Some think that *vv.* 14, 15 were taken from E and *vv.* 16—18 from J, though Meyer (*Die Israeliten*, p. 513) considers that *vv.* 14, 15 point to a much earlier situation than *vv.* 16—18; most recent authorities, however, find no grounds for refusing the whole passage, *vv.* 14—18, to J, with a good deal of editorial manipulation in *vv.* 15, 17, 18.

1. *the lot for the children of Joseph went out*] See on xv. 1. As in the case of Judah, the early tradition seems to imply a partition of the land by means of the sacred lot before the invasion; see p 115. The possessions of Joseph occupied the centre of Palestine, bounded on the North by the Plain of Esdraelon and the territories of Asher and Issachar, and on the South by

the Jordan at Jericho, at the waters of Jericho on the *J*
east, even the wilderness, going up from Jericho through
2 the hill country to Beth-el; and it went out from Beth-el
to Luz, and passed along unto the border of the Archites
3 to Ataroth; and it went down westward to the border
of the Japhletites, unto the border of Beth-horon the
nether, even unto Gezer: and the goings out thereof

those of Dan (xix. 41—46) and Benjamin, which passed into the Highlands of Judah.

from the Jordan at Jericho] Lit. *from the Jordan of Jericho*, i.e. from that part of the Jordan which flows in the neighbourhood of Jericho; similarly Num. xxii. 1.

the waters of Jericho] must refer to the copious spring 'Ain es-Sulṭān (ii. 1 *n.*); as the phrase stands, it appears to mark a second starting-point of the border, five and a half miles W. of the Jordan, by way of defining the point more exactly. But the words are not found in the LXX., and may well be a corrupt repetition of *from the Jo*[*rdan*] *of Jericho*; the sense is improved by leaving them out.

even the wilderness, going up from Jericho] A questionable rendering of a hardly grammatical sentence. The LXX. points to the true reading in this part of the verse: *and it goeth up from Jericho into the hill country to the wilderness of Bethel*, cf. xviii. 12 *b*.

2. *from Beth-el to Luz*] So in Gen. xxviii. 19 Bethel is distinguished from Luz, the sacred *place* being outside the ancient *city*; but elsewhere the two are identified, xviii. 13, Gen. xxxv. 6, Jud. i. 23. It would be just possible to render *from Bethel-luzah*, as one word; but probably *luzah* is a gloss (LXX. om.), or it belongs to *Bethel* in *v.* 1 (so LXX. cod. B).

the border of the Archites to Ataroth] Here and in *v.* 3 the name of a people is used instead of the name of a place, cf. xiii. 11; *the Archites* were a Canaanite family, mentioned again in connexion with Hushai, David's friend, 2 S. xv. 32 etc. It is difficult to make anything of *to Atāroth*; there is no prep. in the Hebr., and in *v.* 5, xviii. 13 the place is called *Atāroth-addar*, to distinguish it from other Atāroth; the *Onom.* mentions two near Jerusalem (93, 31; 222, 32). The ruin 'Aṭārā, three and a half miles S. of Bethel, has the same name, but it lies too far S., and does not agree with the direction given in xviii. 13. Probably *to Atāroth* is a marginal gloss which has found its way into the text.

3. *the Japhletites*] A Canaanite family, not mentioned again. For a group of tribal and clan names like *Archite* and *Japhletite* see Gen. x. 16—18. *Beth-horon the nether* and *Gezer* are nine and a half miles apart; x. 10, 12 *n.*

the goings out thereof were at the sea] Probably some point N.

P were at the sea. | And the children of Joseph, Manasseh 4
and Ephraim, took their inheritance. And the border 5
of the children of Ephraim according to their families
was *thus*: even the border of their inheritance eastward
was Ataroth-addar, unto Beth-horon the upper; and 6
the border went out westward at Michmethath on the
north; and the border turned about eastward unto
Taanath-shiloh, and passed along it on the east of Janoah;
and it went down from Janoah to Ataroth, and to 7
Naarah, and reached unto Jericho, and went out at

of Jaffa, sixteen miles from Gezer, is meant. Elsewhere this expression occurs in P, e.g. *v.* 8, xv. 7 *n.*

4. *Manasseh and Ephraim*] Tradition made Manasseh the elder son, Gen. xlviii. 1 E, 13, 14 J; accordingly P gives Manasseh the first place, cf. xiv. 4, xvii. 1. The LXX., however, reverses the order, to agree with what follows.

5. *the border of the children of Ephraim*] The compiler (RP) has made use of an extract from J to define the southern border of Joseph; now he attaches a passage from P which begins with the southern border of Ephraim; hence *vv.* 5—6 *a* (to *and the border went out to the sea*) repeats *vv.* 1—3 in an abbreviated form.

eastward] Not the furthest point to the E., for this has been carefully marked in *v.* 1, but *eastward* relatively to the western extension of the line. *Ataroth-addar* must have lain E. of *Beth-horon the upper* (x. 10 *n.*); see on *v.* 2.

6. *and the border went out* **to the sea**] belongs to *v.* 5, and concludes the description of the southern border in the same way as *v.* 3. The R.V. rendering is contrary to usage (cf. *v.* 8, xv. 12 etc.) and the sense of the next clause, which indicates a point in the *northern* border. Some such words as *And their border was* seem to have fallen out before *at Michmethath*. There is no *at* in the Hebr.; apparently the text means that this place was the northernmost point in the territory of Ephraim; but neither the Hebr. nor the Gk. has preserved a satisfactory reading here. Michmethath lay *before*, i.e. *east of*, *Shechem* (xvii. 7), between that place and Taanath-shiloh; the site, however, is unknown. From this point the line is traced first to the S.E. (*vv.* 6, 7), then to the S.W. (*v.* 8).

Taanath-shiloh] In the *Onom.* (261, 16) called Thēnath, ten Roman miles E. of Neapolis, now Ta'nā, seven miles S.E. of Nāblus, and two miles N. of Kh. Yānīm, which is probably the site of *Janoah*.

7. *Atāroth*] The verb *went down* points to a site nearer to the Jordan valley than Janoah, i.e. S.E. of it; not the Atāroth of *vv.* 2, 5. *Naărah* = Naaran 1 C. vii. 28; the *Onom.* (283, 11)

8 Jordan. From Tappuah the border went along westward *P*
to the brook of Kanah; and the goings out thereof were
at the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the
9 children of Ephraim according to their families; together
with the cities which were separated for the children of
Ephraim in the midst of the inheritance of the children
10 of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages. | And *J*
they drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer:
but the Canaanites dwelt in the midst of Ephraim, unto
this day, and became servants to do taskwork. |

identifies it with Noorath, a village five Roman miles from Jericho, cf. Jos., *Ant.* xvii. 13, 1 (Nearan); perhaps Kh. el-'Aujeh, six miles N. of Jericho.

8. *From Tappuah...westward*] We are not told how the border reached Tappuah; but the details of its course, which for some reason have been struck out here, can be supplied from xvii. 7 f.: from Michmethath in the N. the line *goes southward, to the* (*land of the*) *inhabitants of En-tappuah*. The situation of Tappuah (see xii. 17 *n.*) is not known.

the **watercourse** *of Kanah*] xvii. 9; perhaps the W. Kānah (though the initial letters are different), S.W. of Shechem, which joins the W. el-'Aujā and enters the sea N. of Jaffa; this would form a suitable boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh. But the name may = "the wadi of reeds"; hence some think of the Nahr el-Mefjir, or the Nahr Iskanderūneh, S. of Caesarea, both of which have reedy marshes near their mouths.

This is the inheritance] P's formula at the close of a list, e.g. xiii. 23, 32, xix. 51, but sometimes at the beginning, e.g. xiv. 1, xv. 20; it has been suggested that P's list of Ephraimite towns originally followed here, as in the case of Judah (xv. 21—62), after the description of the borders.

9. *together with the cities which were separated*] This reference to Ephraimite enclaves, such as Tappuah xvii. 8, within the territory of Manasseh, appears to be a later addition in the manner of P; the word *separate, divided* is characteristic of the Priestly school.

10. For this *v.* from J see xiii. 13 *n.*; it is equivalent to Jud. i. 29, but in a more original form.

became servants to do taskwork] Lit. *was for the forced labour* (mas) *of a slave*, exactly as Gen. xlix. 15 J. The word *mas* denotes both forced labour and the body of men engaged upon it; here and in xvii. 13, Jud. i. 30, 33, 35, it is used of the Canaanites when reduced to subjection; cf. Dt. xx. 11, Is. xxxi. 8. As an institution in Israel the corvée or labour-gang first appears at the end of David's reign, 2 S. xx. 24 (R.V. m. *levy*); it was further

P * And *this* was the lot for the tribe of Manasseh; for 17
he was the firstborn of Joseph. | As for Machir the first-
born of Manasseh, the father of Gilead, because he was a
man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan. And *the* 2
lot was for the rest of the children of Manasseh according

organized by Solomon for his public works, 1 K. v. 13, ix. 15, 21, and deeply resented by the Israelites, *ib.* xii. 14, 18. The rendering *tribute, tributary*, which the R.V. sometimes gives, is incorrect.

The LXX. ends the *v.* at *unto this day*, and then adds a passage about Gezer which appears in the M.T. in 1 K. ix. 16, and in the LXX. cod. B and Lucian as 1 K. iv. 32. The addition may well be a translation from the Hebr., and Mr Holmes (*Joshua*, p. 63 f.) thinks that it originally stood here before it was cancelled by a Hebrew reviser; but it is not suitable to the context nor in keeping with J's narrative of the invasion, from which *v.* 10 is an extract. A similar addition, from 1 K. xvi. 34, is made by the LXX. at vi. 26.

xvii. **1.** The territory of Manasseh. P follows the tradition that Manasseh was *the firstborn of Joseph*; see on xvi. 4.

As for Machir] See xiii. 31 *n.* Instead of continuing with P's description of the lot, the compiler has introduced a note, *vv.* 1 *b*—2, to explain how the sons of Manasseh were distributed. Machir is said to be *the firstborn of Manasseh*, and the brother of six other sons, *v.* 2. P's view, however, is different: in *v.* 3 and in Num. xxvi. 29—32 Machir appears as the only son of Manasseh, and the grandfather of Hepher, one of the six sons named in *v.* 2. Besides these, two more genealogies of the Manassite clans are found in 1 C. vii. 14—19 and in 1 C. ii. 21—23, all differing from one another so much that it is impossible to reconcile them (see Driver, art. *Manasseh* in Hastings' *DB.*). The only point upon which the four schemes agree is that Machir was the *son* of Manasseh and the *father of Gilead*, i.e. the clan inhabited that region; for the expression cf. Gen. xxxiv. 6, 1 C. ii. 24, 42. Of course these genealogies must be understood as referring to clans, not to individuals; the differences between them represent so many different ways of accounting for the connexions of the clans or of the districts which they occupied.

a man of war] Not one of P's phrases; cf. v. 4, vi. 3 RD, x. 24 J. *The* (land of) *Gilead* lay exposed to attack from the Aramaeans and the wandering tribes of the desert, so that it could only be held by a warlike race.

he had Gilead and Bashan] Not only Gilead (see Num. xxxii. 39 J), but Bashan too (see ch. xiii. 12 RD, 30 P) is regarded as the possession of Machir.

2. *the rest of the children of Manasseh*] beside Machir; *the rest*

to their families; for the children of Abiezer, and for * the children of Helek, and for the children of Asriel, and for the children of Shechem, and for the children of Hepher, and for the children of Shemida: these were the male children of Manasseh the son of Joseph according
3 to their families. ¦ But Zelophehad, the son of Hepher, *P*

and *according to their families* are characteristic of P, e.g. *v.* 6, xxi. 5 etc.; xiii. 15, xv. 1 etc.

The names of the remaining six sons of Manasseh correspond exactly with those of "the sons of Gilead" in Num. xxvi. 30—32 P (*Iezer*, short for *Abiezer*); three of them occur in 1 C. vii. 18 f. They are names of clans or towns; thus *Abiezer* was "the thousand" to which Gideon belonged, Jud. vi. 11, 15, 24 etc.; though distinguished in pronunciation, *Shéchem* must be connected with *Shechém*, the well-known town; *Hepher* was the name of a place in central Palestine, xii. 17. The writer implies that these six clans were settled on the W. of the Jordan: Manasseh had other "sons" beside Machir, and so claimed the right to hold possessions in W. Palestine, as well as in Gilead (Carpenter-Harford).

the male children of M.] to distinguish them from the female descendants, *v.* 3; lit. "the children of M., *being males*," as in Ex. xiii. 12, 15 J, but see also Ezr. viii. 4 ff.

Some scholars regard *vv.* 1 *b*—2, with the sequel *vv.* 5, 6, as an extract from JE, and the phrases *according to their families, the rest*, and *being males* as later additions in the manner of P. The genealogy of the Manassite clans in *vv.* 1 *b*—2 certainly differs from that given by P in *v.* 3 and elsewhere; but with the exception of *a man of war*, there is nothing in the language that points unmistakably to J or E; while the strong element of artificial theory in the passage suggests the practice of a much later school. It seems best, therefore, to treat *vv.* 1 *b*—2, 5, 6 as expansions or annotations in the style of P.

Vv. 3, 4 record the fulfilment of the law laid down in Num. xxvii. 1—11 P. The principle that land must not be alienated permanently from the tribe or family to which it had belonged was deeply rooted in Hebrew society (cf. 1 K. xxi., Is. v. 8, Mic. ii. 1 f.); but a law, giving daughters the right to inherit the family estate when there was no male heir, did not apparently come into existence till after the exile. As a supplementary measure the female heir was required to marry within the tribe, Num. xxxvi.; the daughters of Zelophehad accordingly are said to have married their first cousins.

3. *Zelophehad*] The LXX. *Salpaad* shews that the true pronunciation was probably *Ṣil-paḥad*, compounded of *ṣil* = "shadow," "protection," and *paḥad* = "Fear," a divine name, Gen. xxxi. 42, 53, so "God (lit. Fear) is protection." In this form of the

P the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh,
had no sons, but daughters: and these are the names of
his daughters, Mahlah, and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and
Tirzah. And they came near before Eleazar the priest, 4
and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes,
saying, The LORD commanded Moses to give us an
inheritance among our brethren: therefore according to
the commandment of the LORD he gave them an inherit-
* ance among the brethren of their father. | And there 5
fell ten [1]parts to Manasseh, beside the land of Gilead
and Bashan, which is beyond Jordan; because the 6
daughters of Manasseh had an inheritance among his
sons: and the land of Gilead belonged unto the rest of
P the sons of Manasseh. | And the border of Manasseh was 7
from Asher to Michmethath, which is before Shechem;

[1] Heb. *lines*.

Manassite pedigree *Hepher* is the grandson of Machir, not the brother as in *v.* 2.

The daughters of Zelophehad bear names of clans or towns; from which we may conclude "that this story is not a historical account of certain individuals, but a mode of raising a legal point" (Gray, *Numbers*, p. 398). Thus *Mahlah* was the name of a Gileadite family, 1 C. vii. 18; *Noah* prob. only another form of *Neah* in Zebulun, xix. 13; with *Hoglah* cf. Beth-hoglah xv. 6; *Milcah* may be an abbreviation of some such name as Beth-milcah; for *Tirzah* see xii. 24 *n.*

4. *Eleazar...Joshua*] See xiv. 1 *n.*; for *the princes*, ix. 15 *n.*

he gave them] The subj. is prob. not *Moses*, but the cognate ptcp. understood, "(the giver) gave," which may be paraphrased *So there was given them*: as the LXX. renders.

Vv. 5, 6 from the same hand as *vv.* 1 *b*—2.

5. *ten parts*] i.e. probably five for the sons, omitting Machir *v.* 1 *b* and Hepher *v.* 3, and five for Zelophehad's daughters; although by law the daughters could claim only one share, that of Hepher their ancestor.

6. *the rest of the sons of Manasseh*] are settled on the West of Jordan in *v.* 2; but here they are moved to the land of Gilead on the East, apparently (Carp.-Harf.) to suit the genealogy in Num. xxvi. 29—32, where the Manassite clans are all regarded as sons of Gilead.

7. This *v.* evidently describes the southern border of Manasseh from E. to W. It ought to coincide with the northern border of Ephraim, xvi. 6; but *Michmethath, which is before* (i.e. *east of*,

and the border went along to the right hand, unto P
8 the inhabitants of En-tappuah. | The land of Tappuah *
belonged to Manasseh: but Tappuah on the border of
9 Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim. | And P
the border went down unto the brook of Kanah, south-
ward of the brook: these cities belonged to Ephraim
among the cities of Manasseh: and the border of Manasseh
was on the north side of the brook, and the goings out
10 thereof were at the sea: southward it was Ephraim's, and
northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea was his border;
and they reached to Asher on the north, and to Issachar

xiii. 25 *n.*) *Shechem*, is the only place mentioned in both descriptions. Lit. the text has *from Asher the Michmethath*, a reading which may well be corrupt: the Versions found it unintelligible. No name like *Asher* has been found in this region, though the *Onom.* (222, 29) places the village on the road to Scythopolis, fifteen Roman miles from Neapolis (Nāblus).

The border then goes *to the right hand* of a spectator facing E., i.e. *southward, unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah* (xvi. 8); a curious way of defining the end of the line, but explained in the next *v.*: *the land* round Tappuah belonged to Manasseh, the town itself to Ephraim, cf. xvi. 9. Probably *v.* 8 is based upon JE.

9. A confused and perplexing verse. Originally no doubt P simply said that the Wadi Kanah (see on xvi. 8) formed the boundary between Manasseh and Ephraim, the Ephraimite line running along the south bank, and the Manassite along the north (*v.* 10 *a*). But the plain sense of the passage has been dislocated by the intrusion of *these cities belong to Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh*. What cities? No cities have been mentioned before; the sentence prob. found its way here from some other place, e.g. the end of xvi. 9, and it has been fitted into the present context by the words *southward of the brook*. Thus the *v.* is now made to mean: The Manassite border goes down to the upper course of the brook of Kanah, crosses the brook, and on the S. side takes in a piece of territory occupied by Ephraimite cities in the midst of what is properly Manassite land; then the line crosses the brook again lower down in its course, and follows the northern bank as far as the sea. This, however, was not the original sense of the verse, as *v.* 10 *a* shews.

10. *they reached*] The subj. is "the sons of Manasseh." The vb. ought probably to be rendered by a future, as expressing the divine command: see xv. 3 *n.*

to Asher...to Issachar] The direction is left vague; perhaps there was no fixed boundary in the N. and N.E.

J on the east. | And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher 11
Beth-shean and her [1]towns, and Ibleam and her towns,
and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, and the
inhabitants of En-dor and her towns, and the inhabit-
ants of Taanach and her towns, and the inhabitants of
Megiddo and her towns, even the three heights. Yet 12
the children of Manasseh could not drive out *the inhabit-*

[1] Heb. *daughters.*

Vv. 11—13 J, cf. xiii. 13 *n.* and Jud. i. 27 f. As it stands, the text of *vv.* 11, 12 is hardly intelligible. A comparison with Jud. i. 27 suggests that *the three heights* (*v.* 11), together with *And the sons of Manasseh could not drive out* (*v.* 12), have been transposed from their proper positions.

11. Read *And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher the three heights.* What these were is not known; they gave a name to some district. The word for *heights* occurs again in xi. 2, xii. 23. In its present position *the three heights* (there is no *even* in the text) makes neither sense nor grammar, as may be judged from the Versions.

Then continue: *And the sons of Manasseh could not drive out* (*v.* 12) *Beth-shean and her towns, and Ibleam and her towns* etc. (*v.* 11). The limits of Manasseh's expansion towards the N.: a chain of unconquered Canaanite strongholds, from Beth-shean on the E. to Dor on the sea-coast, rendered the occupation of the Great Plain impossible. *Beth-shean* (1 S. xxxi. 10, 1 K. iv. 12), prob. the *Bīt-sāni* mentioned in the Amarna letters (185, 7), called in later times Scythopolis, now Bēsān, was situated on a conspicuous height in the Jordan valley, sixteen miles S. of the Sea of Galilee; it commanded the main ascent from the Jordan to the Great Plain by the valley of Jezreel (Nahr Jālūd). *Ibleam* (2 K. ix. 27, 1 C. vi. 70 [55] Bileam) prob. = Bel'ameh, the name of a ruin seven miles S.E. of Taanach, just below Jenīn; in the list of Thothmes III., no. 43 *Yabra'amu.* For *Dor* see on xi. 2. *and the inhabitants of En-dor and her towns,* not in Jud. i. 27 nor in the LXX., is a mistaken repetition of the preceding clause; En-dor, a little S. of Mt Tabor, lay outside the chain of fortified towns which stopped Manasseh's advance to the Plain. For *Taanach* and *Megiddo* see on xii. 21. It is difficult to say why *the inhabitants* are mentioned in four cases and not in all: probably they did not appear in the original form of the text; the same inconsistency is found in Jud. i. 27. To make the line run in due order from the Jordan to the sea, *Dor* should be moved to the end of the *v.*, as in 1 C. vii. 29, which seems to be copied from here or Jud. i. 27.

ants of those cities; but the Canaanites would dwell in *J*
13 that land. And it came to pass, when the children of Israel were waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to taskwork, and did not utterly drive them out.

12. these *cities*] had to be inserted when the preceding clause was transferred from *v.* 11.

would dwell] Lit. *resolved to dwell*, i.e. persisted in remaining, Jud. i. 27, 35. Cf. Hos. v. 11 "Ephraim...persisted in walking."

13. Repeated in Jud. i. 28; see on ch. xvi. 10. By Solomon's time the Israelites had gained the upper hand in these cities, 1 K. iv. 11 f.; prob. it was David who subdued them, after they had been weakened by the Philistines. From 1 S. xxxi. 10 ff. we learn that the Philistines were masters of Beth-shean in the time of Saul.

In spite of the confusion which obscures the present text, *vv.* 14—18 contain much of value for our history. We learn that at this early period *the house of Joseph* formed a single tribe possessing *one lot*; like the other tribes, they had made their way first of all into the country W. of the Jordan; the eastern settlements in Gilead had not yet come into existence. If, as later tradition held, Moses had already made a grant of territory to half Manasseh in the E. (xiii. 29—31 P), the Josephites could not have complained of receiving only *one lot*, and Joshua could hardly have failed to remind them of Gilead and Bashan. The passage thus agrees with what has already been noticed (xiii. 7, 29 *n.*): early tradition implies that the Manassites in the East were really immigrants from the West.

With regard to the present text, *vv.* 16—18 merely repeat *vv.* 14—15; the doubling of the expostulation and the reply seems to be due to the expansion of one source rather than to the combination of two, for there is nothing sufficiently distinctive in the language or thought to justify the ascription of *vv.* 14—15 to J and *vv.* 16—18 to E, or vice versa. Again, nothing comes of the debate; we expect to be told that the Josephites started off to seek fresh territory as Joshua bade them. And where lay *the forest vv.* 15, 18, and *a hill country v.* 18 (there is no art. in the Hebr.)?

The clue to the right understanding of the passage has been found by Budde (*Richt. u. Sam.*, pp. 32—44), and is widely adopted. Originally, it is suggested, *v.* 18 read "the hill country *of Gilead*"; by *the forest* Joshua meant the wooded highlands of Gilead; and the missing sequel is provided by Num. xxxii. 39, 41, 42, a fragment which does not fit its present context (see xiii. 30 *n.*), followed immediately by ch. xiii. 13. Thus we have an early passage from J, which at once falls into line with the traditions of the tribal exploits preserved in Jud. i. By striking

J And the children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, 14
Why hast thou given me but one lot and one [1]part for
an inheritance, seeing I am a great people, forasmuch as
hitherto the LORD hath blessed me? And Joshua said 15
unto them, If thou be a great people, get thee up to the
* forest, and cut down for thyself there | in the land of the
J Perizzites and of the Rephaim; | since the hill country
of Ephraim is too narrow for thee. And the children of 16
Joseph said, The hill country [2]is not enough for us: and
all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley
have chariots of iron, both they who are in Beth-shean

[1] Heb. *line.* [2] Heb. *is not found for us.*

out *Gilead*, and by altering and enlarging the original form of the text, later editors have tried to re-interpret the passage in accordance with the view that the Manassite settlements on the E. of Jordan dated from the time of Moses, and that W. Manasseh was an offshoot from them.

14. *the children of Joseph*] Perh. originally *the house of Joseph*, as in *v.* 17, xviii. 5, Jud. i. 22; note the singulars which follow. The tribe was not yet divided into Ephraim and Manasseh; cf. xvi. 1 J. *and one part* may be an addition; it overloads the sentence.

the LORD *hath blessed me*] Cf. Gen. xxiv. 1, xxvi. 12, xxx. 27, xxxix. 5 J.

15. *get thee up to the forest*] As the text stands this must be some forest near *the hill country of Ephraim* but beyond it, e.g. in the country between Shechem and the Carmel ridge, which was prob. more wooded in ancient times than it is now. This district, however, is never called *the forest*, and as it lies on a lower level than the hill country, *get thee up* is not the right word to use. On the other hand, *the forest* describes exactly the wooded highlands on the *East* of the Jordan (cf. xii. 2, 4 *n.*), where trees grew in abundance, cf. 2 S. xviii. 6 (note *the forest of Ephraim*), 8.

in the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephāim] Prob. a gloss (LXX. om.) to explain *the forest*; but the explanation adds nothing to our knowledge. Elsewhere *a land of* (*the*) *Rephāim* is used to describe the Ammonite country, or Bashan (Dt. ii. 20, iii. 13), both on the E. of Jordan.

the hill country of Ephraim] See on xv. 48, xvi. 1.

16. *chariots of iron*] i.e. studded or plated with iron (*v.* 18, Jud. i. 19, iv. 3, 13), like the Hittite chariots figured on Egyptian monuments; the *currus falcati*, i.e. scythed chariots, as the Vulg. renders in Jud. ll.cc., were not yet invented. See further *Judges* (C.B.), p. 14. The mountainous nature of Palestine made it

and her towns, and they who are in the valley of Jezreel. *J*
17 And Joshua spake unto the house of Joseph, | even to Eph- *
raim and to Manasseh, | saying, Thou art a great people, *J*
and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only:
18 but the hill country shall be thine; for though it is a
forest, thou shalt cut it down, and the goings out thereof
shall be thine: for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites,
though they have chariots of iron, and though they be
strong. |

impossible to employ chariots anywhere but in the valleys. For *Beth-shean* see *v.* 11 *n.* By *the valley of Jezreel* (Jud. vi. 33, Hos. i. 5) is prob. meant, not the Great Plain, or Plain of Megiddo as it is called in Zech. xii. 11, 2 C. xxxv. 22, but the broad, deep valley of the Nahr Jālūd, which descends eastwards from Jezreel, now Zer'īn, down to Beth-shean and the Jordan. It was not till after O.T. times that the Great Plain was called the Plain of Esdraēlon (the Gk. form of Jezreel), Judith i. 8, iii. 9.

Removing doublets and glosses, the twofold plea of the Josephites becomes a single speech, thus (after Budde): "And the house of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot for an inheritance, seeing I am a great people, forasmuch as hitherto the LORD hath blessed me? The hill country is not enough for us, and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are in the valley of Jezreel, [and I am not able to] drive them out, for they be stronger [than I (*v.* 18)]."

17. *even to Ephraim and to Manasseh*] An explanatory gloss, om. by LXX.

18. *but the hill country shall be thine*] The Hebr. has no art., *for a hill country shall be thine*; this looks as if a proper name had been omitted. If we accept Budde's proposal to restore *the hill country of* [*Gilead*] the whole passage becomes intelligible.

The present text of this *v.* consists of six short clauses, five of which begin with the word *for*, variously rendered *but*, *for though* etc. in the R.V. Such a string of clumsy phrases cannot be original. The first clause may stand when restored (as above); the remaining five are glosses, or repetitions, or fragments removed from their proper place. Reading Joshua's twofold reply as one, we may conjecture (after Budde) that it ran somewhat as follows: "And Joshua said unto the house of Joseph, Thou art a great people, and hast great power: thou shalt not have one lot only: but the hill country of Gilead shall be thine. Get thee up to the forest, and cut down for thyself there, since the hill country of Ephraim is too narrow for thee, and the

P And the whole congregation of the children of Israel 18
assembled themselves together at Shiloh, and set up the
tent of meeting there: and the land was subdued before
RJE them. | And there remained among the children of Israel 2

goings out thereof shall be thine." Then in the original narrative of J we may conjecture that Num. xxxii. 39, 41, 42 followed: a branch of the Josephites set out for Gilead and established themselves there, but they did not succeed in dispossessing the whole of the native population, ch. xiii. 13.

4. *The allotment of the land at Shiloh: the possessions of Benjamin,* ch. xviii.

Reasons have been given above (p. 130 f.) for believing that originally xviii. 1 stood before xiv. 1, where the division of the land begins; in its present position, the verse makes the whole congregation assemble to draw lots at Shiloh in the middle of the narrative which describes the allotment; moreover, *the land was subdued before them* ought to precede xv.—xvii., for the land had to be conquered before Judah and Joseph (xv.—xvii.), just as much as the other tribes (xviii. 11—xix. 51), could receive their portions.

The section *vv.* 2—10 clearly does not belong to the narrative of P, *vv.* 1, 11—28, in which it is embedded. Joshua, for example, acts as sole leader, not in subordination to Eleazar as P represents him, xiv. 1, xix. 51. But the passage can hardly be derived from J, for contrary to J's account of the matter (see pp. 115, 117), the conquest is so far complete that the twenty-one delegates can traverse the country without fear of hostility. These verses, in fact, generalize the views of the older documents, and therefore may be assigned to RJE. And they have been worked over freely by later editors; thus Dtc. expansions appear in *vv.* 3 *b*, 7; the references to Shiloh in *vv.* 8—10 seem to have been introduced to fit the whole passage into the situation described in *v.* 1. The real background of *vv.* 2—10 seems to be that of xiii. 1, 7 *a* J, see xiii. 1 *n.*

1. *the whole congregation...assembled themselves together*] Cf. xxii. 12, Lev. viii. 4, Num. xvi. 42 P; see on ix. 15.

at Shiloh] According to P's theory, *the tent of meeting,* which had been used as a moveable sanctuary in the wilderness (Ex. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, xxx. 36), was set up here, and became the central shrine of the Israelite tribes, xix. 51, xxi. 2, xxii. 9. Older sources bear witness to the importance of Shiloh as a holy place, the temple, not *the tent,* of Jehovah, Jud. xxi. 19, 1 S. i. 3, iii. 3 etc. The name is preserved in Seilūn, nine and a half miles N.E. of Bethel.

seven tribes, which had not yet divided their inheritance. R_{JE}
3 And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long
are ye slack to go in to possess the land, which the LORD,
4 the God of your fathers, hath given you? Appoint for
you three men for each tribe: and I will send them, and
they shall arise, and walk through the land, and describe
it according to their inheritance; and they shall come
5 unto me. And they shall divide it into seven portions:
Judah shall abide in his border on the south, and the
house of Joseph shall abide in their border on the north.
6 And ye shall describe the land into seven portions, and
bring *the description* hither to me: and I will cast lots
7 for you here before the LORD our God. | For the Levites R_D*

2. *seven tribes*] Because five had already been provided for, viz. Reuben and Gad on the E. of Jordan, Judah, Ephraim and Manasseh on the W. Levi evidently was not counted; a Dtc. editor has inserted an explanation in *v.* 7. The word for *tribe* here is *shēbeṭ* (so *vv.* 4, 7), not *maṭṭeh* which P uses (vii. 18 *n.*).

3. *to go in to possess the land...given you*] A Dtc. expression, cf. i. 11 and often. *Jehovah, the God of your fathers*, though frequent in D, does not occur elsewhere in this book; LXX. *Jehovah our God*, as *v.* 6 etc.

4. *Appoint for you...for each tribe*] recalls the language of Dt. i. 13.

arise, and walk through the land] Cf. Gen. xiii. 17 J. How were unprotected parties of three to travel through a country filled with hostile Canaanites (xiii. 13, xv. 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 12, 16)? A survey of this kind could only be carried out after the inhabitants had been overpowered. The writer is generalizing in the manner of the later historians who believed that Joshua's campaigns had swept the country clear.

and describe it] Lit. *and write it*; i.e. draw up a list of towns and districts, as *v.* 9 shews. The average man could write even at this early period; Jud. viii. 14 warrants the inference.

according to their inheritance] i.e. according to the inheritance which each tribe should receive in the future on the basis of the report. The phrase may be an addition by RP; for *according to* cf. Ex. xii. 4, Lev. xxv. 16, Num. xxvi. 54 P.

5. *And they shall divide it*] The land was first to be divided into seven portions, and then these were to be distributed by lot among the tribes. For *the house of Joseph* see xvii. 14 *n.*

6. Clause *a* is little more than a doublet of 5 *a*. *I will* **throw** *lots for you*, a different verb from that used in *vv.* 8, 10; *for you* must refer to the seven tribes, not to the delegates addressed in clause *a*. The whole verse may well be a later addition.

R_D* have no portion among you; for the priesthood of the
LORD is their inheritance: and Gad and Reuben and the
half tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance
beyond Jordan eastward, which Moses the servant of
R_{JE} the LORD gave them. | And the men arose, and went: 8
and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land,
saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it,
and come again to me, and I will cast lots for you here
before the LORD in Shiloh. And the men went and passed 9
through the land, and described it by cities into seven
portions in a book, and they came to Joshua unto the
camp at Shiloh. And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh 10
R_D* before the LORD: | and there Joshua divided the land
unto the children of Israel according to their divisions. |

7. A note inserted to explain how Levi came to be left out of the calculation, cf. xiii. 14, 33 and Dt. x. 9, xviii. 1 f. The *v.* is made up of Dtc. expressions, cf. i. 12 *n.*, xii. 6, xiii. 8 RD, although *priesthood* does not occur in D, nor the particular form used for *beyond Jordan* (xiii. 32 P); this points to a later annotator of the Dtc. school. For *the Levites* read *Levi*, as in Dt. x. 9, to agree with **his** (not *their*) *inheritance* which follows.

8. *to me, and* **here** *I will cast lots...in Shiloh*] LXX., Pesh., *to me here, and I will cast*, perhaps rightly. The place where the lot will be cast is specified twice, *here* and *in Shiloh*; the latter looks as if it had been slipped in at the end of the verse; see on *v.* 9. *before the* LORD, cf. *v.* 6, means at a sanctuary; see vii. 14 *n.*

9. *in a book*] or scroll, *sēpher* includes any kind of written document: the description was to be preserved for future use, cf. Ex. xvii. 14 E, 1 S. x. 25, Is. xxx. 8.

unto the camp at Shiloh] We never hear of *the camp* being at Shiloh; elsewhere *the camp* is at Gilgal, see iv. 19 *n.*, and very likely Gilgal was originally the scene of *vv.* 2—10. But the editor who made room for these *vv.* in the present chap. had the impression that Joshua was at Shiloh, and inserted the name in *vv.* 8, 9, 10 to bring the passage into harmony with *v.* 1. The LXX. omits *unto the camp at Shiloh*, but follows the M.T. in mentioning Shiloh in *vv.* 8 and 10.

10. *according to their divisions*] See xi. 23 *n.* RD; xxi. 43—45 gives the sequel of RD's account of the partition and settlement of the land. The LXX. omits the latter half of the *v.*

The account of the portions assigned to the seven tribes, xviii. 11—xix. 51, begins with Benjamin, *vv.* 11—28. No doubt P has based the inventory upon older sources; the lists of cities

11 And the lot of the tribe of the children of Benjamin *P*
came up according to their families: and the border of
their lot went out between the children of Judah and
12 the children of Joseph. And their border on the north
quarter was from Jordan; and the border went up to the
[1]side of Jericho on the north, and went up through the
hill country westward; and the goings out thereof were
13 at the wilderness of Beth-aven. And the border passed
along from thence to Luz, to the [1]side of Luz (the same

[1] Heb. *shoulder*.

may well be ancient; the twofold titles in xix. 1, 17 are probably due to a combination of documents; the fragment xix. 47 comes from J's history; but it is not possible to separate throughout the earlier from the later material.

11. *the lot...came up*] i.e. was drawn out of the urn; so xix. 10, Lev. xvi. 9. Here and in the rest of the section P's word *maṭṭeh* is used for *tribe*. The LXX. adds *first* after *Benjamin*, so Vulg. sors prima, to agree with the numbers given in ch. xix. These numbers, however, were probably introduced into P's narrative by the compiler (see on xix. 1); we have then here the title in its simple, original form (Wellhausen, *Composition*[2], p. 131).

the border of their lot went out] *lot* in the secondary sense of an allotted portion, cf. xv. 1 *n.*; the verb as in xix. 1, 17 etc.

12. The N. border of Benjamin, *vv.* 12, 13, corresponds with the S. border of Ephraim, xvi. 1—3, 5. It starts from the Jordan and goes up to *the shoulder of Jericho on the north*, prob. the rising ground three miles N. of the present Erīḥā, and W. of 'Ain Dūk; a similar point in the line is indicated by *the waters of Jericho* xvi. 1, if the text is right. From here the border ascended westwards into the mountains, perhaps along the course of the track (an ancient one) which climbs the ridge N. of the Wadi el-Ḳelt, and follows it to Michmash and so to Bethel (*HGHL.*, p. 264).

the goings out thereof...Beth-aven] As a rule the expression marks the point where a line comes to an end (xv. 7 *n.*); here, however, it is used in connexion with a district, *the wilderness of Beth-aven*, which marked the northern extremity of the border. From *the goings out thereof* the line *passed along* to Bethel. It has been thought that Beth-aven is merely another name for Bethel (see vii. 2 *n.*); sometimes no doubt this is the case; and in the parallel passage xvi. 1 the LXX. reads *to the wilderness, to Bethel*; but here the two places are clearly distinguished.

13. *Luz*] See on xvi. 2.

to the **shoulder** *of Luz* **southward**] The Hebr. inserts the parenthesis after *southward*, not after *Luz* as R.V. The meaning

P is Beth-el), southward; and the border went down to Ataroth-addar, by the mountain that lieth on the south of Beth-horon the nether. 14 And the border was drawn and turned about on the west quarter southward, from the mountain that lieth before Beth-horon southward; and the goings out thereof were at Kiriath-baal (the same is Kiriath-jearim), a city of the children of Judah: this was the west quarter. 15 And the south quarter was from the uttermost part of Kiriath-jearim, and the border went out westward, and went out to the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah: 16 and the border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is in the vale of

of this remark must be that the border ran S. of Bethel-Luz, and left the town just outside Benjamite territory; in *v.* 22, however, Bethel is counted as one of the cities of Benjamin. The words are a gloss designed to transfer Bethel to Ephraim, in accordance with Jud. i. 22 ff., 1 C. vii. 28; they have been inserted between the first *Luz* and (*the same is Beth-el*), which ought to go together.

From Bethel the border turns S. to *Atăroth-addar* (xvi. 5), and then due W. over the hill which lies *on the south of Beth-horon the nether*: this clears up the rather vague language of xvi. 3. Atăroth-addar must have lain somewhere between Bethel and Beth-horon.

14. The W. border. From the hill which lies **over against** (here, on the south of) *Beth-horon* the nether the line *inclined* (*v.* 17, xv. 9 *n.*), and curved southward in the direction of *Kiriath-ieārim*, where it met the N. border of Judah (see xv. 9 *n.*, ix. 17 *n.*). The writer is careful to exclude K.-jeārim itself, cf. *v.* 15.

15. The S. border. This corresponds with the N. border of Judah, xv. 6—9, but is traced in the opposite direction.

and the border went out westward, and went out] A westward direction between *K.-jeārim* and *the waters of Nephtoah* near Jerusalem (xv. 9) cannot be right; nor the double *and went out*. Instead of *westward, and went out* the LXX. cod. B, Luc., reads *to Gasein*, cod. A *to Ain*. The name of a place is plainly required; xv. 9 has *to the cities of mount Ephron*, but the reading does not inspire confidence.

16. *went down to the uttermost part of the mountain*] In xv. 8 *went up to the top of the mountain*: we must suppose that *the uttermost part* here means *the base*.

The effect of making the Benjamite border follow a course down *the valley of* Hinnom on the W. and S., skirting *the shoulder*

Rephaim northward; and it went down to the valley of *P*
Hinnom, to the side of the Jebusite southward, and went
17 down to En-rogel; and it was drawn on the north, and
went out at En-shemesh, and went out to Geliloth, which
is over against the ascent of Adummim; and it went
18 down to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben; and it
passed along to the side over against the Arabah north-
19 ward, and went down unto the Arabah: and the border
passed along to the side of Beth-hoglah northward:
and the goings out of the border were at the north [1]bay
of the Salt Sea, at the south end of Jordan: this was
20 the south border. And Jordan was the border of it on
the east quarter. This was the inheritance of the children

[1] Heb. *tongue.*

of the Jebusite on the S.E. to *En-rogel*, is to bring Jerusalem within the territory of Benjamin. According to P's theory of the boundaries Jerusalem belonged to Benjamin; see *v.* 28 and Jud. i. 21, which, when compared with ch. xv. 63, shews how the latter verse has been altered to agree with P's view: and P may be reflecting the changed conditions of a later time.

17. *Gelīloth*] In xv. 7 the name is *Gilgal*; elsewhere *gelīloth* = "regions," xiii. 2, xxii. 10 f.

18. *to the side over against the Arābah*] Lit. *to a side* or *shoulder*; the absence of the art. here implies (according to Hebr. usage) a following genitive. Read with the LXX. *to the shoulder of Beth-arābah*; the phrase will then correspond to xv. 6, where, however, Beth-arābah is included in the territory of Judah (xv. 61); here it is a Benjamite town, cf. *v.* 22. Perhaps it was to avoid this inconsistency that the original text was changed to its present form.

and went down] The words which follow, *unto the Arābah:* [19]*and ...passed along*, are not found in the LXX., nor in the Hebr. of xv. 6; they may have been inserted when the change was made in the text of cl. *a*; read, therefore, *and the border went down to the shoulder of Beth-hoglah*, as in xv. 6.

19. *and the goings out of the border*] So the Hebr. margin; the Hebr. text reads *and the goings out thereof, the border*; plainly the latter word is a gloss. For *the north bay of the Salt Sea* cf. xv. 5 *n.*

20. *of it*] has no antecedent; LXX. om. Cf. xiii. 23. With the last half of the *v.* cf xv. 12, xvi. 8, xix. 48.

The Benjamite cities are grouped according to their position on the eastern (*vv.* 21—24) and western (*vv.* 25—28) sides of the

P of Benjamin, by the borders thereof round about, according to their families. Now the cities of the tribe of the 21
children of Benjamin according to their families were
Jericho, and Beth-hoglah, and Emek-keziz; and Beth- 22
arabah, and Zemaraim, and Beth-el; and Avvim, and 23
Parah, and Ophrah; and Chephar-ammoni, and Ophni, 24
and Geba; twelve cities with their villages: Gibeon, 25
and Ramah, and Beeroth; and Mizpeh, and Chephirah, 26
and Mozah; and Rekem, and Irpeel, and Taralah; and 27 28

watershed, which is marked by the road between Jerusalem and Shechem.

21. The site of *Emek-kezīz* is unknown; near *Beth-hoglah* (xv. 6 *n.*) at the N. end of the Dead Sea.

22. For *Beth-arābah* see on *v.* 18. *Zemaraim* possibly = Kh. es-Samra, four and a half miles N. of Eriḥā, though the initial letters are different. *Beth-el* here belongs to Benjamin, but in Jud. i. 22 f., 1 C. vii. 28 to Ephraim; since it lay on the border line between the two tribes, it was probably claimed by each of them at different times. Cf. the case of Jerusalem, *v.* 16 *n.*

23. *Avvim* may be a variation of the name Ai (vii. 2); both have the art. The name *Parah* survives in Kh. Farah, three miles N.E. of Anāthoth, near the junction of the W. Farah with the W. eṣ-Ṣuweinīt. According to the *Onom.* (94, 7), *Ophrah* lay five miles E. of Bethel, hence it is identified with et-Ṭaiyibeh; cf. 1 S. xiii. 17. Perhaps Ophrah = Ephron 2 C. xiii. 19.

24. *Chephar-ammōni*, i.e. "the village of the Ammonite," Hebr. marg. *Ch.-ammōnah*: site unknown. The same is the case with *Ophni*, not to be identified, as in Smith's *Atlas*, with Gophna, now Jiphna, which lies too far N. *Geba* xxi. 17, 1 S. xiv. 5, Is. x. 29 *a* = the present Jeba', six miles N.E. of Jerusalem; *Gibeon v.* 25, xxi. 17, ix. 3 *n.* = el-Jīb, five miles N.W. of Jerusalem; *Gibeath v.* 28, also called *Gibeah of Benjamin* Jud. xix. 12 ff., 1 S. xiii. 15 and *Gibeah of Saul* 1 S. x. 26, xi. 4, Is. x. 29 *b*, = Tell el-Fūl, a bare, conical hill (2754 feet) three miles N. of Jerusalem. Geba and Gibeah are sometimes confused in the Hebr. text.

25. *Ramah* = er-Rām (2600 feet), five miles N. of Jerusalem, two miles N. of Gibeah; cf. Jer. xxxi. 15. For *Beēroth* see on ix. 17.

26. *Mizpeh*, usually *Mizpah*, an ancient sanctuary (Jud. xx. 1, xxi. 1, 1 S. vii. 5 ff. etc., Jer. xl. 6 ff., xli., 1 Macc. iii. 46), prob. stood on the hill Nebī Samwīl (2935 feet), four and a half miles N.W. of Jerusalem, in the centre of the Benjamite country. For *Chephīrah* see on ix. 17. *Mozah* is unknown.

27. *Rekem, Irpēel, Taralah* are unknown.

Zelah, Eleph, and the Jebusite (the same is Jerusalem), *P*
Gibeath, *and* Kiriath; fourteen cities with their villages
This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin
according to their families.

19 And the second lot came out for Simeon, even for the
tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families:

28. *Zelah* (2 S. xxi. 14) should prob. be joined with *Eleph* to form one name; so LXX. cod. A and Luc. The LXX. gives different names to these places in *v.* 27 f. *the Jebusite*, or rather *the Jebusites*, is apparently a short way of saying *the city of the Jebusites*; cf. *the shoulder of the Jebusite v.* 16, xv. 8, as the name of the S.E. hill of Jerusalem. The LXX. here reads *Jebus*, but there is no real evidence that this was ever the ancient name of the city (see *Judges*, C.B., p. 175). For *Gibeath* read with LXX., Pesh., *and Gibeath*; see on *v.* 24. For *Kiriath* read *and Kiriath-jeārim*, LXX. cod. A and Luc.; the latter part of the name might have been overlooked on account of the almost identical *'arim* = "cities" which follows; see on ix. 17. Kiriath = "town" by itself could hardly be a pr. n.

fourteen] If *Zelah-eleph* be the name of one place, the total will be *thirteen*, which is read by LXX.

5. *The possessions of the six remaining Tribes*, ch. xix.

This ch. continues the subject begun in xviii. 11, and is derived from the same source. See the introductory note on p. 167 f. In many places the text is obscure and unsatisfactory owing to late revision (e.g. *vv.* 1, 17), and to the loose adaptation of earlier material (e.g. *vv.* 13, 15).

1. *the second lot...for Simeon*] counting Benjamin's as the *first*, xviii. 11 (in the Gk., not in the Hebr.). The numbers in *vv.* 1, 10, 17 etc. did not belong originally to the narrative of P. For according to P's scheme, in the course of the division of the land among the nine and a half western tribes (xiv. 1 f.), Judah, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin have already received their portions (xv.—xvii., xviii. 11—28), so that Simeon would come *fifth* not *second*. Clearly these numbers refer to the seven tribes alluded to in xviii. 2—10; and they were inserted in ch. xix. by the compiler who placed xviii. 2—10 in its present position.

for Simeon, even for the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their families] There is no *even* in the Hebr. The double heading here and in *v.* 17, cf. *v.* 32, seems to be the result of a late editorial revision (by RP). *for Simeon, for Issachar* were probably derived from the older material which P made use of in this chap., and allowed to stand in *vv.* 1, 17; P does not call the tribes by personal names, except in Num. i. 5—15. The rest of the title, *for the tribe of the children of...families*, was added later to harmonize

P and their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah. And they had for their in- 2
heritance Beer-sheba, or Sheba, and Moladah; and 3
Hazar-shual, and Balah, and Ezem; and Eltolad, and 4
Bethul, and Hormah; and Ziklag, and Beth-marcaboth, 5

the beginning of each section with the end (*vv.* 8, 16 etc., from P). This way of accounting for the present text gains support from the LXX., which agrees with the Hebr. at the end of the sections (*vv.* 8, 16 etc.), but gives simply the name of the tribe in each heading, e.g. *the second lot went out for Simeon* (cod. A), omitting, except in *v.* 10, *according to their families.*

was in the midst of...Judah] Simeon, therefore, unlike the other tribes (see, however, *v.* 41), has no borders but only towns: it had not been able to maintain a distinctive organization; see Gen. xlix. 5—7, and the story in Gen. xxxiv. During the early days of the invasion the tribe is said to have made common cause with Judah: the theory of the later writers was that Simeon began by settling among the Judahites, and then in the time of David became merged in Judah, 1 C. iv. 31[1]. Simeon does not appear in the Blessing of Moses, Dt. xxxiii.

2. For *vv.* 2—8 see xv. 26—32, where these fourteen towns belong to Judah and occur in almost the same order, but with some differences in the names due partly to the errors of copyists, partly no doubt to variations which had arisen in the course of time. These towns, then, were claimed by both tribes: we may suppose that certain families who traced descent from Simeon had settled in them, while Judah held the general rights of possession. *Beer-sheba*, **and** *Sheba*: the former belonged in a sense to all Israel rather than to Judah exclusively, for in the eighth cent. it was a favourite place of pilgrimage from the N. kingdom, Am. v. 5, viii. 14. The R.V. renders *or Sheba*, to make the number of cities on the list (fourteen) agree with the total (thirteen) given in *v.* 6; the rendering, however, is not permissible. There must be a mistake somewhere. At first sight *and Sheba* looks like a repetition of part of the preceding word; but the LXX. has a second name, reading *and Shema*, prob. the correct form here as in xv. 26. The mistake must lie in the accidental intrusion of one of the other names.

4. *Bethul* = the corrupt *Chesil* of xv. 30, and the *Bethuel* of 1 C. iv. 30.

[1] The Rabbis explained the inequality of Simeon's portion, and the difference between the census of Num. xxvi. 14 and that of *ib.* i. 22 f., as a punishment for the sin of Zimri the Simeonite (*ib.* xxv. 14) which led to the death of 24,000; Midr. R. *Gen.* § 99; Rashi on Num. xxvi. 14. Cf. Midr. R. *Num.* § 21.

6 and Hazar-susah; and Beth-lebaoth, and Sharuhen; *P*
7 thirteen cities with their villages: Ain, Rimmon, and
8 Ether, and Ashan; four cities with their villages: and
all the villages that were round about these cities to
Baalath-beer, Ramah of the South. This is the inherit-
ance of the tribe of the children of Simeon according to
9 their families. Out of the [1]part of the children of Judah
was the inheritance of the children of Simeon: for the
portion of the children of Judah was too much for them:
therefore the children of Simeon had inheritance in the
midst of their inheritance.
10 And the third lot came up for the children of Zebulun

[1] Heb. *line.*

5. *Beth-marcāboth* = *Madmannah,* and *Hăzar-susah* = *Sansannah* in xv. 31.

6. *Sharuhen,* the proper form of *Shilhim* xv. 32. To this place, somewhere in S. Judah, the Hyksos fled after their expulsion from Egypt, c. 1580 B.C.; it is also mentioned in the annals of Thothmes III., c. 1515 B.C. See Breasted, *Hist. of Anc. Egypt.*, p. 187 f.; Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, p. 158 f. For *thirteen cities* see on *v.* 2; cf. xv. 32 *n.*

7. *Ain, Rimmon,* to be read with LXX. as one name, *En-rimmon*; see xv. 32 *n.* After this *and Tochen* 1 C. iv. 32 has dropped out by accident, as the LXX. shews; the number is thus made up to *four.* All the other towns of Simeon were in the Negeb, but *Ether* and *Ashan* were in the Shephēlah; see xv. 42.

8. *the villages...round about these cities*] have already been referred to in *vv.* 6, 7; the remark, therefore, may be derived from the older sources which P used; and this is all the more likely because the clause which follows has no equivalent in ch. xv. *Baălath-beer* = *Beăloth* xv. 24; *Ramah of the South* is mentioned again in 1 S. xxx. 27; both sites are unknown.

This is the inheritance] P's formula, as in xviii. 20 etc.

9. *Out of the part*] or *line,* cf. xvii. 5 P, 14; and with *had inheritance* (a verb) cf. xvi. 4 P; *in the midst of their inheritance* cf. xvi. 9, xvii. 4, xxi. 41 P.

10. The territory of Zebulun lay N. of the Great Plain, in the district which rises to the higher land occupied by Naphtali. It included the hills round Nazareth, and the fertile, marshy Plain of Baṭṭauf some six miles further N. According to the early poems, Zebulun had an outlet at the sea, perhaps near Carmel, and extended northward to Phoenicia (Gen. xlix. 13, Dt. xxxiii.

P according to their families: and the border of their inheritance was unto Sarid: and their border went up 11
westward, even to Maralah, and reached to Dabbesheth;
and it reached to the brook that is before Jokneam;
and it turned from Sarid eastward toward the sunrising 12
unto the border of Chisloth-tabor; and it went out to
Daberath, and went up to Japhia; and from thence it 13
passed along eastward to Gath-hepher, to Eth-kazin;

19); but at the date of the present description its territory had become entirely inland, bounded on the W. by Asher (*vv.* 25 ff.).

the border...unto Sarid] i.e. the southern border, which passed W. (*v.* 11) and E. (*v.* 12) from *Sarid* as a central point. The name of this place is uncertain; prob. it should be read *Sadud* after the Pesh.: in which case the site may be that of Tell Shadūd, on the N. side of the Great Plain, and five miles S.W. of Nazareth.

11. *Marălah* and *Dabbesheth* have not been found:- prob. they were near el-Mujēdil, a little to the N.W. of Tell Shadūd. *Jokneam*, perh. = Tell Ḳaimūn at the E. end of Carmel (xii. 22 *n.*), is here outside the border of Zebulun, therefore *the brook* or *wadi* may be the river Kishon; in xxi. 34 Jokneam belongs to Zebulun, and the *wadi* may be the W. el-Milḥ, just West of Tell Ḳaimūn.

12. *Chisloth-tabor*, i.e. *loins* or *flanks of Tabor*, = Chesulloth in Issachar *v.* 18, now Iksāl, three miles W. of Mt Tabor; Jos., *War* iii. 3, 1 refers to it as "Exaloth situated on the Great Plain." *Daběrath*, in xxi. 28, 1 C. vi. 72 [57] a Levitical city belonging to Issachar, is now Debūriyeh at the foot of Tabor on the W. It was here apparently that the Israelite forces assembled under Barak, Jud. iv. 6. During the Roman war a Jewish garrison was stationed in the place, Jos., *War* ii. 21, 3. *Japhia* (Jos., *ib.* 20, 6 etc.) must have lain E.N.E. of Debūriyeh, as the text stands. But if *Japhia* = Yāfā, five and a half miles due W. of Debūriyeh, which is quite likely, the text must be in some disorder; perhaps *and went up to Japhia* originally preceded *unto the border of Chisloth-tabor*, though the transposition does not agree with what follows in *v.* 13.

13. *it passed along eastward* **toward the (sun)rising**] The eastern border is now described. Owing probably to the imperfect assimilation of earlier material the text of this *v.* contains some doubtful features: note the double direction *eastward* and *toward the (sun)rising*, the absence of the conjunction before *Eth-kazin*, the questionable expression *which stretcheth*. Moreover, from Daběrath to Gath-hepher the line would run N.W., not *eastward*; a reviser may have noticed this, and, by transposing *and went up to Japhia* to the end of *v.* 12, secured the required

and it went out at Rimmon which stretcheth unto Neah; P
14 and the border turned about it on the north to Hannathon: and the goings out thereof were at the valley of
15 Iphtah-el; and Kattath, and Nahalal, and Shimron, and Idalah, and Beth-lehem; twelve cities with their
16 villages. This is the inheritance of the children of

direction. *Gath-hepher* was the home of the prophet Jonah 2 K. xiv. 25, whose grave is still venerated at el-Meshhed, three miles N.E. of Nazareth. The position of this village agrees with what St Jerome says about Gath-hepher, that it lay two Roman miles from Sepphōris on the road to Tiberias (Prol. to *Comment. in Jonam*). *Eth-kazin* is unknown.

it went out at Rimmon] i.e. it came to a point there, cf. *v.* 12. *Rimmon which stretcheth* must be corrected to *Rimmonah* (= Rummānęh, three and a half miles N. of el-Meshhed) *and stretcheth* or *and it inclined*, cf. xv. 9, and xxi. 35 *n.* *Neah*, LXX. cod. A *Annoua*, has not been found; it must have been N. of the last place.

14. The northern border, which, however, we are unable to follow.

turned about it] i.e. *circled* or *skirted it*, as xv. 3, 10 etc.; but what is meant by *it*? The construction in the Hebr. is unusual. *Hannathon* occurs in the Amarna letters. "the city of Ḥinatōn in the land of Kinaḫḫi" (= Canaan) 11, 17, cf. 196, 32: the site unknown. *Iphtah-el* *v.* 27 marked the most northerly point (*the goings out*) in the border. This place, the Jotapata of Jos., *War* iii. 7, 7, prob. = Kh. Jephāt, N. of the Plain of Baṭṭauf; to the S.W. of the site the great Wadi 'Abellīn takes its rise, perhaps *the valley* referred to here (so Robinson).

On the W. Zebulun was bordered by Asher (*v.* 27), but nothing is said about the western line, perhaps because it was not clearly defined; it certainly varied at different periods, for in earlier days Zebulun extended to the sea (*v.* 10 *n.*).

15. The list of towns begins abruptly. *Kattath* may = Kartah xxi. 34 and Kitron Jud. i. 30; site unknown. *Nahalal* xxi. 35, Jud. i. 30, is identified in the Talmud with Mahlūl, which perhaps = Ma'lūl, three and a half miles W. of Nazareth. *Shimron*, LXX. Sumoōn, xi. 1 *n.* *Idalah*, or *Iralah* as some MSS. write it, is identified in the Talmud with Hiriyeh, which perhaps = el-Ḥawwāreth, one mile S. of Bēt-laḥm. *Beth-lehem*, Jud. xii. 8, 10, is the only one of these cities which has survived, now Bēt-laḥm, seven miles N.W. of Nazareth.

twelve cities] But only five have been named. The rest have prob. dropped out by accident; the *v.* begins awkwardly with *and Kattath*, as though in the middle of a list. The LXX. om. the total here and in *vv.* 22, 30, 38.

P Zebulun according to their families, these cities with their villages.

The fourth lot came out for Issachar, even for the 17
children of Issachar according to their families. And 18
their border was unto Jezreel, and Chesulloth, and
Shunem; and Hapharaim, and Shion, and Anaharath; 19
and Rabbith, and Kishion, and Ebez; and Remeth, and 20 21

17. Issachar's settlements lay S.E. of Zebulun and S. of Naphtali, in the S.E. of the Great Plain; but even this district was not in the exclusive possession of the tribe (xvii. 11). The present account makes no mention of boundaries, except in *v.* 22, perhaps because P thought that they were sufficiently indicated by the boundaries of Zebulun on the N.W. (*v.* 11 f.), Naphtali on the N.E. (*vv.* 33, 35), Manasseh on the S. and W. (xvii. 7, 10), Ephraim on the S. and E. (xvi. 6 *b*, 7 *a*). A list of towns, therefore, as in the case of Dan (*vv.* 41—46), takes the place of a description of the tribal borders. In the early wars Issachar shewed a vigorous spirit (Jud. v. 15); later on the tribe seems to have come to ignoble terms with the Phoenicians, and so secured advantages in the W. (Gen. xlix. 14 f.); by the date of the present list the tribal possessions had shrunk to a corner of the Great Plain.

for Issachar, even for the children of Issachar] The R.V. has inserted *even*; for the twofold heading and the addition of *the fourth* see on *v.* 1.

18. *their border was unto Jezreel*] and perhaps included it. Jezreel, the home of Ahab and his successor 1 K. xviii. 45 f., 2 K. viii. 29 f., is now represented by Zer'īn, at the E. end of the Plain and at the head of the Nahr Jālūd. For *Chesulloth* see on *v.* 12. *Shunem* 1 S. xxviii. 4, 2 K. iv. 8 etc., now Sūlem (cf. Song vi. 13), three and a half miles N. of Zer'īn; it is named in the lists of Thothmes III. (c. 1515 B.C.), no. 38, and of Shishak (c. 950 B.C.), no. 16, as Shanemā.

19. *Hapharaim*, in Shishak's list, no. 18, Ḥapurumā, possibly = Kh. Farriyeh, five and a half miles N.W. of el-Lejjūn (*Onom.* 223, 61), though this seems to be too far W. *Shion* perhaps = 'Ayūn esh-Sha'īn, three miles N.W. of Tabor. *Anāḥārath* in the LXX. cod. A *Arraneth*; hence some think of 'Arrāneh, two and a half miles N.E. of Jenīn (Buhl, p. 204). The place is mentioned in the list of Thothmes III., no. 52, as *'Anuḥertu*.

20. *Rabbith* may = Rābā, seven miles S.E. of Jenīn. *Kishion* xxi. 28 and *Ebez* are unknown.

21. Of the four towns, which prob. lay near together, only *En-gannim* ("spring of gardens") xxi. 29, abbreviated *Anem* 1 C. vi. 73 [58], can be identified; the Gēma, Ginaea, of Jos., *War* ii. 12, 3, *Ant.* xx. 6, 1, passages which describe a fight

22 En-gannim, and En-haddah, and Beth-pazzez; and the *P*
border reached to Tabor, and Shahazumah, and Beth-
shemesh; and the goings out of their border were at
23 Jordan: sixteen cities with their villages. This is the
inheritance of the tribe of the children of Issachar ac-
cording to their families, the cities with their villages.
24 And the fifth lot came out for the tribe of the children

between Jewish and Samaritan pilgrims on this spot; it is now Jenîn, at the extreme S.E. of the Great Plain, where the roads to Nazareth and Ḥaifa branch off; it still possesses a plentiful spring. *Remeth* = *Jarmuth* xxi. 29 = *Ramoth* 1 C. vi. 73 [58].

22. The border reached to these three places, and apparently included them: for the total given is *sixteen cities* (LXX. om.). It is the E. end of the N. border which is here indicated, from the three towns to the Jordan. Like the others, *Tabor* must be a town, in 1 C. vi. 77 [62] said to belong to Zebulun, and situated on or below the hill which bears the same name; it is mentioned in Jos., *War* iv. 1, 8. The tribes (Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali) whose borders met at Tabor seem to have held a common fair or religious gathering there, Dt. xxxiii. 18 f. The sites of the towns have not been identified.

24. The territory of Asher lay in the N.W. along the sea, from Carmel northward to the country behind Phoenicia. The name was associated with this part of Canaan from early times, as we learn from Egyptian inscriptions of Seti I. and Ramses II. (fourteenth and thirteenth cents. B.C.), which mention a somewhat important state called *Asaru*, occupying W. Galilee[1]. There must be some connexion between *Asaru* and *Asher*, but what it was we cannot tell: the people of that ancient state may have taken up the cause of the Israelite invaders from the desert; or the latter may have called themselves after the name of the district where they settled; or the people of *Asaru* may have been Israelites who never migrated to Egypt with the other tribes[2]. The earliest historical reference to the Asherites, Jud. v. 17, speaks of them as declining to take part with the N. tribes in the battle against Sisera; at that time, perhaps, they were hardly independent of the Phoenicians. Gen. xlix. 20 and Dt. xxxiii. 24 both imply that Asher was "fortunate" in its situation, with a market for its produce close at hand. Gradually the tribe seems to have become absorbed into Phoenicia, while its

[1] See W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, pp. 236—239, who utters a warning against using this slight though important material for the construction of large theories.

[2] See Burney, *JTS.* 1908, pp. 333—340, 345; Driver, *Exodus*, p. 416; Hogg, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 327 f.

P of Asher according to their families. And their border 25
was Helkath, and Hali, and Beten, and Achshaph; and 26
Allammelech, and Amad, and Mishal; and it reached to
Carmel westward, and to Shihor-libnath; and it turned 27
toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon, and reached to
Zebulun, and to the valley of Iphtah-el northward to

connexion with Israel tended to diminish. This perhaps accounts for the vagueness of the territory described in *vv.* 25—30; it will be noticed that the delimitation of the borders is curiously interwoven with the list of cities. The text of this section is composite and fragmentary.

25. *And their border was Helkath*] We expect a description of the boundary, for *v.* 26 *b* goes on to say *and it reached to Carmel*; but instead we find a list of cities. LXX. cod. B reads *from Helkath*, but this looks like an attempt to make sense of the passage. It has been suggested (*Enc. Bibl.*, s.v. Helkath) that the text should be emended so as to begin with a list of cities, as *v.* 41, "And the border of their inheritance was Helbah (Jud. i. 31), and Hali" etc.; but the inconsequence may be due rather to careless editing of sources than to textual corruption. None of the places can be identified: *Helkath* xxi. 31, miswritten Hukok 1 C. vi. 75 [60], perhaps the *Haraḳtu* in the list of Thothmes III., no. 112; *Beten* eight Roman miles E. of Ptolemais acc. to *Onom.* 236, 40; *Achshaph* xi. 1 *n.*

26. Possibly the W. el-Melek, which starts from the Plain of Baṭṭauf and joins the Kishon four miles from the sea, may preserve an echo of the name *Allammelech*. *Amad*, LXX. cod. B Amiel, is unknown. *Mishal* xxi. 30, 1 C. vi. 74 [59] Mashal, seems to = *Mish'ara*, named immediately before Aksap, i.e. Achshaph, on the list of Thothmes III., no. 39. These three places appear to have lain in the W. of the Great Plain: in *Onom.* 139. 21; 280, 36 Mishal is placed near Carmel on the sea.

We are told not where the border started, but *it reached to Carmel* in the W.; whether it went S. of Carmel depends on the position of *Shihor-libnath*, of which all that can be said is that it lay near Carmel and on the S. boundary of Asher. Many suppose, on the strength of xiii. 3, that *Shihor* = "river," and explain "Shihor of Libnath," which they identify with the Nahr ez-Zerḳā, the "crocodile river" of early geographers, twenty miles S. of Carmel; but both the identification and the meaning of *Shihor* are highly questionable. The ancient interpreters, LXX., Pesh., Vulg., understood Shihor-libnath to be two places, not one.

The S. boundary of Asher joined the N. boundary of Manasseh, xvii. 10.

27. Eastward the border reached to the territory of Zebulun, see *v.* 14, where, however, the W. line of Zebulun is not defined.

Beth-emek and Neiel; and it went out to Cabul on the *P*
28 left hand, and Ebron, and Rehob, and Hammon, and
29 Kanah, even unto great Zidon; and the border turned
to Ramah, and to [1]the fenced city of Tyre; and the
border turned to Hosah; and the goings out thereof

[1] Or, *the city of Mibzar Zor* that is, the fortress of Tyre.

Several places called *Beth-dagon* existed in Palestine (cf. xv. 41); the one mentioned here is not known.

The border now turns to the N. For *the valley of Iphtah-el* see on *v.* 14. After *northward* the LXX. implies that a verb has fallen out: read *and the border goeth to Beth-emek and Neïel* (perh. for *Neah v.* 13); these places must have been near Iphtah-el.

to Cabul on the left hand] As *the right hand* can mean *south* (e.g. xvii. 7), so *the left hand* may = *north*, cf. Gen. xiv. 15, Ezek. xvi. 46. The *northward* direction of the line has just been indicated; here it is given again; and since *left hand* = *north* is foreign to P's usage, the phrase *to Cabul on the left hand* seems to be a fragment of earlier material. *Cabul* (cf. 1 K. ix. 13), now Kābūl, five miles N.W. of Jefāt (? = Iphtah-el); Jos., *Life* 43, 44, 45, says that it was a village bordering on Ptolemais, actually it is nine miles S.E. of 'Akkā.

28. The description of the N. border is here interrupted by four names which ought to come in the list of cities. For *Ebron* read *Abdon* (with some Hebr. MSS.) xxi. 30, 1 C. vi. 74 [59], perhaps = 'Abdeh, ten miles N.E. of 'Akkā. *Rehob*, "broad place," comes again in *v.* 30 (see *n.*); and in xxi. 31, Jud. i. 31, 1 C. vi. 75 [60]; it is named in the lists of Thothmes III., no. 87, and of Shishak, no. 17; situation unknown. *Hammon*, "glowing," may have been the ancient name of Umm el-'Awāmīd, where ruins of a Phoenician city still exist, near the coast between 'Akkā and Tyre. A Phoen. inscr. from Ma'sub in the neighbourhood refers to "the citizens of Ḥammōn" and to "the deity of Ḥammōn" (i.e. the goddess 'Ashtart); see *NSI.*, pp. 48, 50. *Kanah* = Ḳānā, now a Christian village, seven miles S.E. of Tyre, 1050 feet above the sea; *Ḳanō* in the list of Thothmes, no. 26. As they stand these four names are supposed to be governed by *and it went out to* in *v.* 27, a most unlikely piece of grammar; probably the course of the border *to Cabul* is carried on by *even unto great Zidon* (see xi. 8 *n.*).

29. From Zidon the line *turned* southward to the environs of Tyre.

Ramah perh. = Rāmiyeh, thirteen miles S.E. of Tyre; but the name is too common to make the identification certain. If we adopt it, we must suppose that the border next goes N.W. *to the city* **of the fortress** *of Tyre* (see 2 S. xxiv. 7), i.e. the mainland city, called in later times Palaetyrus, which appears to have been

P were at the sea [1]by the region of Achzib: Ummah also, 30
and Aphek, and Rehob: twenty and two cities with
their villages. This is the inheritance of the tribe of 31
the children of Asher according to their families, these
cities with their villages.

[1] Or, *from Hebel to Achzib*

not so much a city as a suburb, stretching for some way along the shore. The LXX., however, reads *the spring of the fortress of Tyre* (cf. the corresponding variation in *v.* 41 of *'îr* = "city" and *'ên* = "spring"); this will be Rās el-'Ain, three miles S. of Tyre on the coast, where the Roman aqueduct starts on its way to the city. From this point the border *turned* southward again to *Hosah*, an unknown site. But *Hosah* looks very much like a Hebr. form of the Egyptian *Usu* and the Assyrian *Ushū on the shore of the sea* (inscr. of Asshurbanipal, *KB.* ii., p. 229), which may have been the name of Tyre on the mainland[1]. If, then, *Hosah* = *Ushū* = Palaetyrus, *the city of the fortress of Tyre* must be the island-city itself; Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, s.v. Hosah.

Somewhere S. of Tyre the western border came to an end at the sea.

by the region of Achzib] See margin. Instead of *from Hebel* read *and Mahălab* (LXX. "and from Leb"), a name which appears under two forms, Ahlab and Helbah, in Jud. i. 31; no doubt the Phoen. town called *Maḥallība* by Sennacherib (*KB.* ii., p. 91), who mentions Ushū, Achzib, Acco in the same line. Moore (*Judges*, p. 51) conjectures that Maḥălab was the old name of Rās el-Abyaḍ, the Promontorium album of Pliny, eight miles S. of Tyre. Then instead of *to Achzib* read *and Achzib* (so LXX. cod. B), a place nine miles further S. on the coast, the Ecdippa of Greek and Roman geographers, now ez-Zīb. These two names *and Mahălab, and Achzib*, are to be connected closely with *v.* 30.

30. and *Ummah*] Two Hebr. MSS., Pesh., read *and Emek*; a better reading is *and Acco*, indicated by some MSS. of the LXX., and supported by Jud. i. 31. *Acco* = 'Akkā, eight and a half miles S. of ez-Zīb. The five names *and Mahalab, and Achzib, and Acco, and Aphek, and Rehob* have nothing to do with the description of the border (*v.* 29), which ends with the usual formula *and the outgoings thereof were at the sea* (cf. xvi. 8, xvii. 9, xviii. 19, xix. 14, 22): they form a group by themselves unrelated to the context, and include *Rehob*, which has already appeared in *v.* 28. There can be little doubt that they have been inserted from Jud. i. 31. The site of *Aphek* is unknown.

twenty and two cities] This number can only be obtained by

[1] See Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.* I., p. 201 f.; *KAT.*[3], p. 97 f. For the Egyptian *Usu* see Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, p. 194.

32 The sixth lot came out for the children of Naphtali, *P*
even for the children of Naphtali according to their
33 families. And their border was from Heleph, from the
[1]oak in Zaanannim, and Adami-nekeb, and Jabneel,

[1] Or, *oak* (or *terebinth*) *of Bezaânannim*

counting the five towns just mentioned; and as they have all the appearance of a late insertion, this statement of the total must be later still; it is omitted by the LXX.

32. Naphtali was settled in the eastern half of Upper and Lower Galilee. Asher, Zebulun, Issachar bounded the territory on the W. and S., the Jordan and its two lakes on the E.; the settlements of Dan lay to the N., but they never attained to a definite frontier, so that in the N. Naphtali ended vaguely in the Aramaean country. The possessions of the tribe included some of the finest country in Palestine, rich in produce (Gen. xlix. 21, Dt. xxxiii. 23), and the nursing ground of a free and hardy race (Jud. iv. 6, v. 18). Galilee is "a land which has never been destitute of men of courage," says Josephus (*War* iii. 3, 2).

for the children of Naphtali, even for the children of Naphtali] There is no *even* in the Hebr. The title is doubled as in *v.* 1; the LXX. has simply "for Naphtali."

33. The starting point of the border seems to be placed in the N.W., so far as we can tell. The LXX. reads *from Heleph* as one word, Meheleph; the site is unknown. Since there is no *and* between this and the next place, we must take **from the terebinth of Bezaanannim** (mg.) to be an alternative starting-point, or a closer definition of Heleph. In Jud. iv. 11 *the terebinth of Bezaanannim*, doubtless a sacred tree, marks the position of Heber the Kenite's tents, and is said to be *by Kedesh*. This raises a difficulty: how are we to connect a place on the border of Naphtali with the battle-field of Jud. iv., v., near the Kishon, in the West? There is no need to attempt the impossible when once it is seen that Jud. iv. 11 belongs to a different story, which is concerned with Jabin king of Hazor, and originally had nothing to do with the battle on the Great Plain. The Kedesh referred to will then be Kedesh in Naphtali (a few miles N. of Hazor), near to which stood the sacred tree of Bezaanannim. The name is a curious one and may not be correctly written; the LXX. has Besemicin, hence Conder suggested an identification with Kh. Bessūm, five miles W. of the S. end of the Sea of Chinnéreth (*Tent Work*, p. 69; accepted by Smith, *HGHL.*, p. 396); but the proposed site, though it can be made to fit the present passage, takes us far away from the scene of Jud. iv. 11. *Adami-nekeb*, "the pass Adāmi," is taken by the LXX. and Jewish interpreters as two names, Adāmi and Nekeb. *Adāmi* has been identified with Dāmiyeh, five miles S.W. of Tiberias (Neubauer, *Géogr. du*

P unto Lakkum; and the goings out thereof were at Jordan:
and the border turned westward to Aznoth-tabor, and 34
went out from thence to Hukkok; and it reached to
Zebulun on the south, and reached to Asher on the west,
and to Judah at Jordan toward the sunrising. And the 35
fenced cities were Ziddim, Zer, and Hammath, Rakkath,
and Chinnereth; and Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor; 36

Talmud, pp. 222, 225; Smith l.c.); but this is much too far S. for a place between Bezaanannim and Jabneel, which belong to Upper Galilee. *Jabneel* has not been found; most likely it = the *Jamnia* of Jos., *Life* 37, *War* ii. 20, 6 (Jamneith), which was in Upper Galilee; cf. the Jabneel in Judah, xv. 11 *n*. The ruins called Yamma, seven miles S.W. of Tiberias, have been supposed to preserve the site (Neubauer l.c. p. 225); but this place does not fall into line with the rest of the border. *Lakkum* is unknown: from here the border came to an end at the Jordan, i.e. in the higher course of the river, N. of Ḥūleh.

34. The W. border. We are not told whence it started or where it *turned*; but it reached to *Aznoth-tabor*, ? "the peaks of Tabor," evidently a place near Mt Tabor, where Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali met; cf. Chisloth-tabor *v.* 12. *Onom.* 224, 88 mentions the site vaguely, as lying within the district of Diocaesarea (Sepphoris), on the plain. *Hukkok* is prob. a corrupt form; cf. on Helkath *v.* 25.

and to Judah] must be wrong; perhaps a miswritten form of some other name; LXX. om. Read only *and to Jordan*.

35. *the fenced cities*] An expression not used by P, cf. x. 20 *n*.; it may have been retained from the earlier material worked up into this chapter. The reading *Ziddim, Zer* is uncertain, note the omission of *and*; *d* and *r* lend themselves to confusion in Hebr., as the LXX. shews by rendering *of the Tyrians, Tyre*. For the Talmudic equivalent see Neubauer l.c. p. 207. *Hammath*, "hot spring," xxi. 32, in 1 C. vi. 76 [61] called Hammon; the *Ḥamtu* of Thothmes III.'s list, no. 16; prob. = el-Ḥammeh, the hot springs to the S. of Tiberias, called by Josephus Ammathous (*Ant.* xviii. 2, 3; *War* iv. 1, 3); see Smith, *HGHL.*, p. 450. *Rakkath* unknown; the Jews thought that Tiberias, founded by Herod Antipas, stood on the site of this place (Talm. Jer. *Meg.* i. 1), or on the site of either Hammath or Rakkath (Talm. Bab. *Meg.* 6 *a*). *Chinnéreth* lay in the plain on the N.W. side of the lake; see xi. 2 *n*.

36. *Adāmah* unknown; some would identify it with Dāmiyeh, see *v.* 33 *n*. *Ramah* = Rāmeh, 1295 feet, eight miles W.S.W. of Ṣafed, on the mountain wall overhanging the wide depression which separates Upper from Lower Galilee, and extends from the Sea of Chinnéreth to Acco. For *Hazor* see on xi. 1.

37 and Kedesh, and Edrei, and En-hazor; and Iron, and *P*
38 Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh;
39 nineteen cities with their villages. This is the inheritance
of the tribe of the children of Naphtali according to
their families, the cities with their villages.
40 The seventh lot came out for the tribe of the children
41 of Dan according to their families. And the border of

37. For *Kedesh* see on xii. 22. *Edrei* unidentified; *Otara'a* in the list of Thothmes III., no. 91. *En-hazor*, "the fountain of Hazor," ? = Kh. Ḥasīreh, ten miles W. of Kedesh, or Kh. Ḥazzūr, S.E. of Rāmeh. The name Hazor was common in Galilee.

38. *Iron* prob. = Yārūn, seven miles S.W. of Kedesh. *Migdal-el*, "tower of God," ? = Mejdel Islim, eight miles N.W. of Kedesh. *Hŏrem* unknown; the LXX. combines it with Migdal-el; there is no *and* before the name. *Beth-anath*, "temple of (the goddess) 'Anāth," has been identified with 'Ainītha, five and a half miles W.N.W. of Kedesh; mentioned in Egyptian inscrr. from Thothmes III. (no. 111 on the list, *Batinti*) to Ramses II. The goddess 'Anāth (cf. Jud. iii. 31, v. 6) was worshipped from early times in Syria and Palestine, as appears from old Canaanite pr. nn. such as Anāthoth xxi. 18, Beth-anoth (in Judah) xv. 59; and from Syria her cult was introduced into Egypt. Some think that the goddess was of Babylonian origin; it is plausible to regard 'Anāth as = Anatum, the consort of the great god Anu; but this is open to question, see *NSI.*, p. 80 f. *Beth-shemesh*, "temple of the sun(-god)," unidentified; not the Beth-shemesh mentioned in *v.* 22 and in xv. 10 (in Judah). Both places were Canaanite sanctuaries, as their names indicate. At first Naphtali was unable to capture these towns (Jud. i. 33); hence it is doubtful whether Beth-anath can = 'Ainītha, which occupies a position hardly strong enough to have been a Canaanite fortress.

nineteen cities] Sixteen are named in *vv.* 35—38; the only way to obtain nineteen is to include the towns on the border, and to count the names which have no *and* before them as one with the names which precede. The total is not recognized by the LXX., and is prob. a later insertion.

40. Dan is the last of the tribes to receive its portion; cf. the place of Dan in Jud. i. and 1 C. xxvii. 16 ff.; in Rev. vii. it has disappeared. At first apparently the Danites tried to settle in the southern lowland, but the natives of the district forced them into the neighbouring hill country (Jud. i. 34 f.) afterwards occupied by Judah. From their southern settlements the Danites, yielding to Canaanite pressure, migrated to the N., and established themselves at Laish (Leshem), near the sources of the Jordan, and their city, henceforward called Dan, became

P their inheritance was Zorah, and Eshtaol, and Ir-she-
mesh; and Shaalabbin, and Aijalon, and Ithlah; and 42
Elon, and Timnah, and Ekron; and Eltekeh, and Gib- 43 44
bethon, and Baalath; and Jehud, and Bene-berak, and 45

famous as a sanctuary (*v.* 47; Jud. xviii. 2, 11 ff.). The migration prob. took place in the early days of the conquest, although the account of it is given at the end of Judges, for by the time of Deborah the Danites were already settled in their northern home (Jud. v. 17). Yet some families, it is clear, remained behind in the S., for the scene of Samson's exploits (Jud. xiii.—xvi.) lay in the Philistine country. A memory of Dan's early fortunes is preserved in the tribal traditions, which tell of rough encounters with the natives and a forced migration; perhaps there is some allusion to the latter in the metaphors used in Gen. xlix. 17 and Dt. xxxiii. 22. As in the case of Simeon, P does not define the borders of Dan in *vv.* 41 ff., but gives only a list of towns; and no total appears at the end. Probably Dan's territory was too insignificant to have any frontiers; or P may have left them to be inferred from what has been said of Benjamin on the E. (xviii. 14), Ephraim on the N. (xvi. 3, 5), and Judah on the S. (xv. 9 ff.).

41. For *Zorah* and *Eshtaol* see on xv. 33. Instead of *Ir-shemesh* some Hebr. MSS. read *En-shemesh*, a preferable form (see on *v.* 30), now 'Ain Shems = Beth-shemesh, xv. 10 *n.*

42. *Shaalabbin* or *Shaalbim* Jud. i. 35, 1 K. iv. 9, cf. 2 S. xxiii. 32, has been identified with Salbīt, three miles N.W. of Yālō = *Aijālon* (see x. 12 *n.*); but though the position is suitable, the names do not agree phonetically. The form Shaalabbin (if correct) admits of no Hebr. derivation, in spite of the LXX. Jud. i. 35; perhaps the name survived from some pre-Canaanite speech. *Ithlah* is unknown.

43. *Elon* 1 K. iv. 9 (to be read *Elon to Beth-hanan*) may be represented by Kh. Wadi 'Alin, just S.E. of 'Ain Shems, though the initial letters are different. For *Timnah* see xv. 10 *n.*, and for *Ekron*, xiii. 3 *n.*

44. *Eltekeh* xxi. 23 = *Altaḳu* taken and destroyed by Sennacherib in 701 B.C. on his way to Timnah and Ekron (Prism Inscr. II. 82, Rogers, *Cun. Parallels*, p. 342): site unknown. The name is interesting as suggesting a form like the Arabic *iltiḳā*, "battle," a word not used in Hebr. (*DB.* III., p. 30). *Gibbethon* xxi. 23, 1 K. xv. 27, xvi. 15, 17 (Philistine): site unknown. *Baalath* 1 K. ix. 18, Jos., *Ant.* viii. 6, 1, somewhere near Beth-horon and Gezer.

45. *Jehūd* = Yehūdiyeh, five miles N. of Ludd (Lydda), on the plain between Joppa and the hills. *Benē-berāk* = Ibn Ibrāḳ, between Yehūdiyeh and Joppa: it is mentioned in Sennacherib's

46 Gath-rimmon; and Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the *P*
47 border over against [1]Joppa. | And the border of the *J*
children of Dan went out [2]beyond them: for the children

[1] Heb. *Japho.* [2] Or, *from them: and &c.*

Prism Inscr. II. 66 as Benebarḳa (Rogers l.c. p. 341). *Gath-rimmon*, "wine-press of Rimmon," xxi. 24, 1 C. vi. 69 [54], prob. a little to the E. of Joppa: the site given by the *Onom.* (246, 58 f.), twelve Roman miles from Diospolis (Lydda) on the way to Eleutheropolis, lies too far S.

46. *Me-jarkon, and Rakkon* is a corrupt reading, the second name being merely a repetition of the first. Read, after the LXX., *and on the west* (lit. *the sea*) *was Jarkon, together with the border* etc., or *unto the border* etc. (1 Hebr. MS., Pesh.); site unknown. *Joppa* 2 C. ii. 16 [15], Ezr. iii. 7, Jon. i. 3, Hebr. *Yāphō*, now Yāfā: this important harbour-town is mentioned in early times and frequently, e.g. *Yapu* in the Amarna tablets (178, 20; 214, 33), *Yapa* in the list of Thothmes III., no. 62, *Yappu* in Sennacherib's Prism Inscr. II. 66, *Yāphē* in Phoenician (Eshmun-'azar, line 19).

47. This *v.* is clearly foreign to its context, for *v.* 48 ought to come immediately after *v.* 46, as it does in the LXX. Then the LXX. continues with a text in which *v.* 47 stands between two additional passages: (*a*) relates that the Danites failed to dispossess the Amorites, who forced them into the hill country, and did not allow them to descend into the valley, and made their territory too narrow for them [here follows *v.* 47]; and (*b*) that the Amorites contrived to dwell in Aijalon and Shaalbim, yet the hand of Ephraim prevailed against them, and they became tributary. Now this additional matter appears, with some differences and omissions, in Jud. i. 34, 35: so that the LXX. here represents a combination of Jud. i. 34. Josh. xix. 47, Jud. i. 35, which no doubt is original. This fuller text, existing in the Hebr. MS. which lay before the LXX., has been abbreviated in different ways by the editors of Josh. and Jud. What induced the editor of the present chapter to cut down the original narrative? He may have considered that there was no need to repeat the passages, (*a*) and (*b*) above, which already stood in Jud. i. 34, 35; or he deliberately omitted them because they spoke of failure, and kept *v.* 47 only, which registers a success (Holmes). In its full original form the narrative was an extract from J's history, of which stray pieces are preserved in xiii. 13, xv. 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 12, each of them corresponding to the early fragments worked into Jud. i.

And the border...went out from them (mg.)] Originally the text read, as the LXX. shews, *and they* (i.e. the Amorites) *made the border of their inheritance too narrow for them* (Hebr. *wayyāṣîḳu*,

J of Dan went up and fought against [1]Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called Leshem, Dan, after the
P name of Dan their father. | This is the inheritance of 48
the tribe of the children of Dan according to their families, these cities with their villages.

So they made an end of distributing the land for in- 49
heritance by the borders thereof; and the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua the son of Nun in the midst of them: according to the commandment of 50
the LORD they gave him the city which he asked, even Timnath-serah in the hill country of Ephraim: and he built the city, and dwelt therein.

[1] In Judg. xviii. 29, *Laish*.

for *wayyēṣē'* = "went out"). As a result of the late editorial manipulation of this passage the text has become unintelligible.

went up and fought against Leshem] See Jud. xviii. 7. In Jud. xviii. Leshem is called *Laish*; the true pronunciation was prob. *Lēshām*. After the place was occupied by the Danites and renamed, it became the chief Israelite town in the N.; cf. 2 S. xxiv. 6, Jer. iv. 15, and the phrase "from Dan to Beer-sheba" Jud. xx. 1, 1 S. iii. 20 etc. Josephus describes the position of Leshem-Dan as "near the springs of the lesser Jordan" (*Ant.* viii 8, 4), which may mean either the source at Tell el-Ḳāḍī, or the other source three and a half miles to the East at Bānias. Most modern authorities prefer the former, and the identification seems to be supported by Jer. and Eus., *Onom.* 114, 26; 249, 32. At Tell el-Ḳāḍī the Jordan, called at this point Nahr Leddan, gushes out of the W. side of the Tell in astonishing volume. The modern names Tell el-Ḳāḍī (Ḳāḍī = Dan = judge) and Nahr Leddan may preserve a memory of ancient associations.

49. In this and the foll. *v.* P is evidently making use of an early authority, such as E; for this account of the grant of land to Joshua is presupposed by xxiv. 30, which comes from E. At the same time *by the borders thereof* (cf. xviii. 20), *an inheritance in the midst of* (cf. *v.* 9), *according to the commandment of the* LORD (cf. xv. 13, xxii. 9), mark the handiwork of P.

50. *Timnath-serah* xxiv. 30 = *T.-heres* Jud. ii. 9. A tradition from the fifth cent. A.D. pointed out the tomb of Joshua at Thamna (*Onom.* 157, 7; 261, 33), which was a fortified place in Maccabaean times (1 M. ix. 50), and the seat of a toparchy under the Romans (Jos., *War* iii. 3, 5; iv. 8, 1). Thamna prob. = the modern Tibneh, ten miles N.W. of Bethel, in the Central Highlands. Remarkable tombs are to be seen on the northern

51 These are the inheritances, which Eleazar the priest, *P*
and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers'
houses of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed
for inheritance by lot in Shiloh before the LORD, at the
door of the tent of meeting. So they made an end of
dividing the land.

20 And the LORD spake unto Joshua, saying, Speak to

slope of the hill to the S.W. of the town[1]. It is not unlikely that *T.-serah* is an intentional alteration of *T.-heres*, "(sacred) territory of the Sun," to avoid the taint of idolatry.

51. The conclusion of P's whole account of the division of the land: see xiv. 1 *n*. For *in Shiloh* etc. see xviii. 1 *n*.

6. *The Cities of Refuge: the Levitical Cities*, chs. xx.—xxi.

The appointment of six Cities of Refuge, ch. xx., for the protection of a man who has accidentally slain another, carries out the requirements laid down in Num. xxxv. 9—15; and as Num. xxxv. belongs to P, so does the present chapter. But not the whole of it; for in *v*. 3 the expression *unawares*, and *vv*. 4—6 (except *until he stand...for judgement*), bear the unmistakable stamp of D. How these Dtc. elements came to find a place in a narrative composed by P is accounted for by a reference to the LXX. In the LXX. cod. B there is no equivalent to *vv*. 4—6, doubtless because they did not exist in the MSS. used by the Gk. translators; some editor must have introduced them into the Hebr. text after the Gk. translation was made, and for the material of his insertion he drew upon the law of homicide in Dt. xix.

The earliest law on the subject stands in the Book of the Covenant, Ex. xxi. 12—14 E, which allows the right of sanctuary at Jehovah's altar (cf. 1 K. i. 50, ii. 28) in a case of unintentional manslaughter. In Dt. xix. 1—13 this old law is expanded and adapted to later conditions; nothing is said about sanctuary at the altar, but certain cities are designated for the purpose. Then follows P, Num. xxxv., to the same effect, but with greater precision in detail; P uses the technical term *cities of refuge* (*v*. 2, xxi. 13 ff., Num. xxxv. 6, 11 ff.), which does not occur in Deut. According to P it is Joshua who sets apart the six cities, whereas Dt. iv. 41—43, a later addition to the text, declares that Moses already had appointed the three trans-Jordanic cities.

[1] See a description of the site by Séjourné in *Revue Biblique*, 1893, pp. 608 ff.

P the children of Israel, saying, Assign you the cities of refuge, whereof I spake unto you by the hand of Moses: that the manslayer that killeth any person [1]unwittingly | 3
* *P and* unawares | may flee thither: and they shall be unto
* you for a refuge from the avenger of blood. | And he shall 4

[1] Or, *through error*

2. *the cities of refuge*] i.e. those referred to in Num. xxxv. 10 ff. In ancient times the right of famous sanctuaries to shelter persons fleeing from unjust pursuit was recognized by common consent. But when Josiah in 621 B.C. abolished the ancient high places in his kingdom and centralized worship at Jerusalem, some other asylums had to be provided. Obviously the manslayer in distant parts of the country could not flee all the way to Jerusalem; accordingly six cities were to be appointed in order to meet the need: this explains why they are first heard of in the Dtc. legislation. Yet it is significant that the three cities of refuge on the W. of Jordan were old-established sanctuaries, and the same was prob. the case with the three on the E. Whether this plan was ever carried out in full may be questioned; for after the time of Josiah and the return from exile the Jews never occupied the whole of the territory indicated by the position of the six cities[1]. See further Moore, *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 377 f.

I spake unto you by the hand of Moses] So in P, Ex. ix. 35, Lev. x. 11, Num. xvi. 40 [xvii. 5] etc.; *by the hand of* means *through*.

3. *that the manslayer...may flee thither*] Taken from Num. xxxv. 11.

unwittingly and *unawares*] To express the idea of "unintentionally" P uses the word *unwittingly* (lit. *in error*), e.g. Num. xxxv. 11, 15, while D uses *unawares* (lit. *without knowledge*), e.g. Dt. iv. 42, xix. 4; the latter has been inserted here from D, and is not given by the LXX. The distinction between intentional and unintentional manslaughter is drawn by the earliest Hebr. code, as well as by the later ones (Ex. xxi. 12 f., Dt. xix., Num. xxxv. P).

the avenger of blood] A make-shift equivalent for the Hebr. *gō'ēl had-dām*. Generally *gō'ēl* means *one who acts as next of kin*, whether by marrying a kinsman's widow (Ruth iii. 12 f.), or by

[1] In the Gk. period and under the Roman Empire several cities in Syria were given the privilege of asylum, and bore the Gk. title *asylos* on their coins; see Hill, *B. M. Cat. of Gk. Coins of Phoenicia*, 1910, p. 130 Ptolemais, p. 159 Sidon, p. 233 Tyre (from 126 B.C. to 93 A.D.); and ib. *Palestine*, 1914, p. 3 f. Sepphoris, p. 77 Nysa-Scythopolis, p. 107 Ascalon, p. 144 Gaza (from second cent. B.C. to Roman times).

flee unto one of those cities, and shall stand at the entering of the gate of the city, and declare his cause in the ears of the elders of that city; and they shall [1]take him into the city unto them, and give him a place, that he
5 may dwell among them. And if the avenger of blood pursue after him, then they shall not deliver up the manslayer into his hand; because he smote his neighbour
6 unawares, and hated him not beforetime. And he shall dwell in that city, | until he stand before the congregation *P*

[1] Heb. *gather.*

exacting a payment due to the deceased (Num. v. 8), or buying a kinsman out of slavery, or a field which had been sold through poverty (Lev. xxv. 48, 25), or buying back an estate into the family (Jer. xxxii. 7 ff.). In accordance with this usage, *gō'ēl had-dām* means the representative of the family who acts as next of kin in a case of murder. Upon him was laid the responsibility of exacting a compensation for his kinsman's blood by shedding the blood of the murderer. The motive, therefore, was not vengeance, but justice as it was understood in a society organized on the principle of the family. In the case of wilful murder the *gō'ēl* was bound to take the life of the murderer (Ex. xxi. 12, 2 S. xiv. 11, Dt. xix. 12, Num. xxxv. 19, 21, 27); but in the case of accidental manslaughter the community intervened, and prevented the *gō'ēl* from doing his duty by his family (Ex. xxi. 13, Dt. xix. 5 f., Num. xxxv. 12). As an institution the practice of blood-revenge survived long after Hebr. society had passed out of the early stage.

4. The late insertion, based upon Dt. xix. 1—13, begins here and lasts to the end of *v.* 6; it is not represented in the LXX. cod. B. except for one clause in *v.* 6; cod. A, Vulg., Pesh., translate the M.T.

at the entering of the gate of the city] See viii. 29 *n.*

the elders of that city] It is characteristic of Dt. that *the elders* act as the local guardians of justice (Dt. xxii. 15, xxv. 7), and in the trial of capital charges (*ib.* xix. 12, xxi. 2 ff., 19 f.).

they shall **bring** *him*] An expressive word, conveying the idea of protection, Dt. xxii. 2; cf. 1 S. xiv. 52, 2 S. xi. 27.

dwell among them] The manslayer who is interned must regard himself as undergoing compulsory exile from his native place. Hence, in the Mishnah, sojourn in a city of refuge is called technically *gālūth* = *exile* (Talm. B. *Makkoth* II. 6).

5. The language of this *v.* is borrowed from Dt. xix. 6, 4. The word for *deliver up* occurs in Dt. xxiii. 15 [16].

6. *until he stand before the congregation for judgement*] comes from P, and originally followed *v.* 3, as may be gathered from

* for judgement, | until the death of the high priest that
shall be in those days: then shall the manslayer return,
and come unto his own city, and unto his own house,
P unto the city from whence he fled. | And they [1]set apart 7
Kedesh in [2]Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali, and
Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and Kiriath-arba

[1] Heb. *sanctified.* [2] Heb. *Galil.*

Num. xxxv. 12. The LXX. cod. B recognizes this sentence alone in *vv.* 4—6. In P *the congregation* is the post-exilic community; how it was to exercise judicial functions is not clear. On the other hand in D, *the elders*, both of the city of refuge (*v.* 4) and of the manslayer's native place (Dt. xix. 12), are charged with the duty of trying the case.

until the death of the high priest] A second time-limit, inconsistent with the first, and from a different hand—that of the author of *vv.* 4—6. He uses the language of D, e.g. Dt. xix. 17 "the priests and judges *which shall be in those days*" (cf. *ib.* xvii. 9, xxvi. 3), but adapts it to Num. xxxv.•25, where *the death of the high priest* is the signal for a general amnesty. Such an amnesty may have been first introduced by the post-exilic law; on the other hand, it may have been an ancient custom, modified afterwards by P, which allowed the manslayer to go free at the death of the priest who had charge of the particular sanctuary. In the Hex. the title *high priest* occurs only here and in Num. xxxv. 25, 28, Lev. xxi. 10 P.

7. *And they* **sanctified**] As applied to a city, the word is unexpected; though there is no reason why a city should not be set apart for a religious purpose, just as much as a house or a field, Lev. xxvii. 14, 16; moreover, the cities of refuge, at any rate those on the W. of Jordan, possessed a sacred character, so that this was, in a sense, a re-dedication. The words used in Num. xxxv. 11 and Dt. iv. 41 do not, however, imply so much; LXX. *he separated.* The six cities appear in ch. xxi. and in 1 C. vi. as Levitical possessions.

Kedesh in Galilee was in the North; see xii. 22 *n.* *Shechem*, now Nāblus (from the Latin, Flavia Neapolis), thirty miles N. of Jerusalem, lay in the Centre of the land: it was one of the oldest Canaanite cities, and is mentioned in the early Egyptian papyrus Anastasi I. (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 394), and was a place of importance in the period of the Amarna tablets (no. 185, 8 ff., as correctly read, Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, p. 120); according to the Hebr. legends it was consecrated by the visits and worship of the patriarchs (Gen. xii. 6 J, xxxiii. 18 P, 19, 20 E, xxxv. 4 E, xlviii. 22 E), and thus became a *sanctuary of Jehovah*, xxiv. 26; see further on xxiv. 1. *Kiriath-arba*, in the South; cf. x. 3, xiv. 15, xv. 13.

8 (the same is Hebron) in the hill country of Judah. And *P*
beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastward, they assigned
Bezer in the wilderness in the [1]plain out of the tribe of
Reuben, and Ramoth in Gilead out of the tribe of Gad, and
9 Golan in Bashan out of the tribe of Manasseh. These
were the appointed cities for all the children of Israel,
and for the stranger that sojourneth among them, that
whosoever killeth any person [2]unwittingly might flee

[1] Or, *table land* [2] Or, *through error*

8. *the Jordan at Jericho eastward*] Hebr. *the Jordan of Jericho eastward* (so 1 C. vi. 63 Hebr.). The LXX. om. the last two words; they have found their way here by mistake, perhaps owing to xiii. 32. *Bezer* lay in the S. of the country E. of the Jordan, *on the* (Moabite) *table-land*, Dt. iv. 43, ? Bosor 1 M. v. 26 ff. it is mentioned on the Moab. Stone l. 27. The site is not known for certain; Ḳeṣūr el-Beshīr, two miles S.W. of Dibon, has been proposed. *Ramoth in Gilead* Dt. iv. 43, in the Centre of the land, but the situation is disputed. Jerome and Eusebius place it fifteen Roman miles W. of Philadelphia (= 'Ammān), *Onom.* 145, 31; 287, 91; hence Buhl (*Geogr.*, p. 262) and others propose el-Jal'ūd, about three miles S. of the Jabbok; es-Salt is generally preferred, but its physical features make the identification impossible; there is more to be said for Jerash (Gerasa), twenty-two miles N.W. of es-Salṭ. The biblical narratives require a situation accessible from Samaria and Jezreel (1 K. xxii. 37, 2 K. viii. 28 f., ix. 16), and convenient for chariots (1 K. xxii. 31 f.). Accordingly Smith (*HGHL.*, pp. 587, 679) thinks of a site near the Yarmuk, in the region of Der'āt (Edrei). This, of course, means giving up the statement of the *Onom.*, and the Talmudic tradition that Ramoth was in line with Shechem on the other side (Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talm.*, p. 55). *Golan* Dt. iv. 43, in the North; possibly to be identified with Sahem el-Jaulān, seventeen miles E. of the Sea of Chinnéreth. The place gave its name to the province of Gaulanitis, often mentioned by Josephus (e.g. *Ant.* iv. 5, 3; *War* ii. 12, 8), and the modern district of Jaulān, E. and N.E. of the lake.

9. *the* **sojourner** *that sojourneth among them*] So Ex. xii. 49, Lev. xvi. 29, xvii. 10 ff. etc. P. The *sojourner* (Hebr. *gēr*, in Arab. *jār*) was an alien who came to live among Israelites, in dependence on their protection and good will. He was expected to conform to social customs (Ex. xx. 10); no advantage was to be taken of his insecure position (Ex. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9, Dt. i. 16); he was commended to the charity of his neighbours (Dt. xxiv. 19, xxvi. 13), but he could not be admitted to equal rights (Lev. xxv. 45, Dt. xxiii. 20). Such was the status of the *gēr*

P thither, and not die by the hand of the avenger of blood, until he stood before the congregation.

in the older codes, JE and D; but in P it undergoes a change. After the exile foreigners began to be received into the community of Israel, and the *gēr* virtually becomes a proselyte: he is bound by the same laws (Ex. xii. 49, Lev. xxiv. 22, Num. ix. 14), he enjoys the same privileges as an Israelite; he can be sheltered, for instance, in one of the cities of refuge; but all this on the condition that he accepts circumcision (Ex. xii. 48).

before the congregation] See on *v.* 6.

Ch. xxi. P gives a list of the forty-eight cities, with their pasture-grounds, set apart for the Levites and priests in accordance with the law, Num. xxxv. 1—8 P. At the end of the ch., *vv.* 43—45 from D form a sequel to xviii. 10 *b*. In the M.T. *vv.* 36, 37 are not found, but the gap is filled by many MSS. and the ancient versions. The list occurs again in 1 C. vi. 54—81 [39—66], with some differences of detail.

It is certain that this scheme of Levitical cities was not carried out in the days of Joshua; for of the cities named some, e.g. Gibeon, Shechem, Gezer. Taanach, continued to be more or less Canaanite till the period of the monarchy; others became important in civil history, e.g. Hebron, Shechem, Ramoth; in some, no doubt, priestly families had homes and property, e.g. in Anāthoth (Jer. i. 1), yet we hear of priests settled in cities not mentioned in the list, e.g. in Shiloh (1 S. i.—iv.), Nob (1 S. xxii. 19), Bethel (Am. vii. 10). But the clearest evidence of the unhistorical character of the present narrative comes from the early sources, which speak of the Levites as scattered over the land, and wandering from place to place (Jud. xvii. 7, 8, xix. 1 ff., cf. Gen. xlix. 7); in Deut. it is expressly stated that they possessed no portion like the other tribes, but lived dependent upon the sacred offerings and the charity of the faithful, Dt. xviii. 1—5 (cf. Josh. xiii. 14, 33, xviii. 7); and even P bears the same witness, Num. xviii. 20, xxvi. 62 (cf. Josh. xiv. 3). There can be little doubt that the present scheme owes its origin to Ezekiel's ideal re-organization of the land, in which the Levites and priests were to have domains of their own, and to live together in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple (Ezek. xlv. 1—5, xlviii. 11—14). P however modifies Ezekiel's theoretical design in a more practical direction: the Levites, instead of being congregated in a single district, are to occupy cities in different parts of the country. It was an idealist's plan, and, like Ezekiel's, it remained an ideal cherished in priestly circles; yet it had a starting-point in actual fact. The historical element in the scheme goes back to the holy places, served by Levitical priests (cf. Ezek. xliv. 10, 12). Wellhausen is probably right in suggesting a connexion between the cities of

21 Then came near the heads of fathers' *houses* of the *P*
Levites unto Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the
son of Nun, and unto the heads of fathers' *houses* of the
2 tribes of the children of Israel; and they spake unto
them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, The LORD
commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to
3 dwell in, with the [1]suburbs thereof for our cattle. And
the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their
inheritance, according to the commandment of the LORD,
these cities with their suburbs.
4 And the lot came out for the families of the Kohathites:

[1] Or, *pasture lands*

refuge and those mentioned in this chapter: the former were sanctuaries in ancient times, and so were many of the latter, e.g. Hebron, Gibeon, Shechem, Mahanaim, Tabor; while the names Beth-shemesh, Ashtaroth, Kedesh, Rimmon, imply a connexion with Canaanite worship (*Proleg.*[3], pp. 162 ff., Eng. Tr. pp. 159—164). The Levitical cities were, in many cases, the ancient holy places under a different designation. Of course P cannot name Jerusalem, because the scene is laid in the time of Joshua (*vv.* 1—3); but the influence of the central sanctuary may be detected in the grant of thirteen cities in Judah and Benjamin to the Aaronic priests (*v.* 19).

1. *the heads of* **the fathers**...*unto Eleazar*...*Joshua*] See xiv. 1 *n.*

2. *at Shiloh*] See xviii. 1 *n.*

The LORD *commanded*] Num. xxxv. 1—8 P; referred to in Lev. xxv. 32—34, 1 C. xiii. 2, 2 C. xi. 14, xxxi. 15, 19. Now that the tribes were established *in the land of Canaan*, the law could be put into force. The main body of P forbids the Levites to hold possessions in the land (Num. xviii. 20, xxvi. 62); the present narrative, therefore, and the related passages must be assigned to a supplementary revision of P.

cities to dwell in] See xiv. 4 *n.*

with the suburbs thereof] See xiv. 4 *n.* According to Num. xxxv. 5 a space to the distance of 2000 cubits (c. 1000 yards) on the four sides of each city was to be *pasture land* (mg.), for the use of the inhabitants; contrast Ezek. xlv. 3—5. It is obvious that such a measure could never have been carried out in the mountainous and populated country of Palestine. The whole plan represents an ideal.

4. *the Kohathites*] The Levites were divided by P and other late writings into the three families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, Ex. vi. 16, Num. iii. 17 ff., 1 C. xxiii. 6 ff. Here the Kohathites come first; they were regarded not only as the largest

P and the children of Aaron the priest, which were of the Levites, had by lot out of the tribe of Judah, and out of the tribe of the Simeonites, and out of the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.

5 And the rest of the children of Kohath had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim, and out of the tribe of Dan, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh, ten cities.

6 And the children of Gershon had by lot out of the families of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the half tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.

7 The children of Merari according to their families had out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.

8 And the children of Israel gave by lot unto the Levites these cities with their suburbs, as the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses. 9 And they gave out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, these cities which are *here* mentioned by name: 10 and they were for the children of Aaron, of

of the three, but as the family to which Aaron belonged; hence the subdivision into *the children of Aaron, the priests*, and *the rest of the children of Kohath* (*v.* 5). The distinction between Levites who were priests and Levites of a lower grade first arose in the time of Ezekiel.

the children of Aaron the priest] Only again in *v.* 13 and Lev. i. 7. In all three places the text should read *the children of Aaron, the priests*, as in *v.* 19, Lev. i. 5, 8 etc. The LXX. here and in Lev. i. 7 supports the correction.

Judah...the Simeonites...Benjamin] It is significant that the descendants of Aaron are allotted homes not in Shiloh (xviii. 1), but in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, *vv.* 13—17; this shews that the writer was really thinking of the temple and the conditions of a far later day. In Joshua's time there were certainly not enough Aaronic priests to occupy thirteen cities (Dillmann).

5. *the rest*] See xvii. 2 *n.* Here and in *v.* 5 *the families* is omitted by the LXX., perhaps rightly; or we should read in each case *according to their families*, as in *v.* 7.

9. *out of the tribe...of Judah*] See xv. 13 ff., 42, 48—51, 10. The only town of *Simeon* mentioned in the present list is Ashan (see on *v.* 16), xix. 7.

which are here *mentioned by name*] Such is generally supposed

the families of the Kohathites, who were of the children P
11 of Levi: for theirs was the first lot. | And they gave *
them Kiriath-arba, *which Arba was* the father of [1]Anak,
(the same is Hebron,) in the hill country of Judah, with
12 the suburbs thereof round about it. But the fields of
the city, and the villages thereof, gave they to Caleb
the son of Jephunneh for his possession. |
13 And unto the children of Aaron the priest they gave P
Hebron with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the
14 manslayer, and Libnah with her suburbs; and Jattir
15 with her suburbs, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs; and
Holon with her suburbs, and Debir with her suburbs;
16 and Ain with her suburbs, and Juttah with her suburbs,
and Beth-shemesh with her suburbs; nine cities out of
17 those two tribes. And out of the tribe of Benjamin,
Gibeon with her suburbs, Geba with her suburbs;

[1] Heb. *Anok*.

to be the meaning of this obscurely worded phrase, lit. "which one calls by name" (in 1 C. vi. 65 [50] "which they call by names"), i.e. which one specifies; but the specification, instead of following at once, does not begin till *v.* 13. Probably the text is corrupt: Steuernagel proposes to read *and their pasture lands*; the LXX. om. *by name*.

10. *was* **the lot first**] *First* is an adv., cf. Gen. xxxviii. 28, Num. ii. 9.

11. *Kiriath-arba...the father of Anak*] See xiv. 15 *n*. In *v.* 13 Hebron is said to have been given to the priests: how can this be reconciled with the gift of the city to Caleb, xv. 13? Some annotator has made a naive attempt to smooth over the problem by inserting *vv.* 11, 12: the priests occupied the city proper and its pasture ground, Caleb certain lands and villages belonging to the city.

13. For *Hebron, the city of refuge* see xx. 7; for *Libnah* x. 29.

14. *Jattir* xv. 48; *Eshtemoa* xv. 50.

15. *Holon* xv. 51; *Debir* x. 38, xv. 15.

16. For *Ain* the LXX. reads *Asa*, i.e. *Ashan* 1 C. vi. 59 [44]; see xv. 42, xix. 7. *Juttah* xv. 55; *Beth-shemesh* xv. 10.

out of those two tribes] i.e. Judah and Simeon, *v.* 4. The word for *tribe* is *shēbeṭ*, not *maṭṭeh* which P regularly uses in this chap. and elsewhere; RP has prob. added the clause.

17. *out of...Benjamin*] xviii. 24, 25, where *Gibeon* and *Geba* are mentioned. *Anāthoth* was the home of the priestly family of Abiathar 1 K. ii. 26, and of the prophet Jeremiah Jer. i. 1,

P Anathoth with her suburbs, and Almon with her suburbs; four cities. 18 19
All the cities of the children of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen cities with their suburbs.

And the families of the children of Kohath, the Levites, even the rest of the children of Kohath, they had the cities of their lot out of the tribe of Ephraim. 20 21
And they gave them Shechem with her suburbs in the hill country of Ephraim, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Gezer with her suburbs, and Kibzaim with her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs; four cities. 22
And out of the tribe of Dan, Elteke with her suburbs, Gibbethon with her suburbs; Aijalon with her suburbs, Gath-rimmon with her suburbs; four cities. 23 24
And out of the half tribe of Manasseh, Taanach with her suburbs; and Gath-rimmon with her suburbs; two cities. 25
All the cities of the families of the rest of the children of Kohath were ten with their suburbs. 26

And unto the children of Gershon, of the families of the Levites, out of the half tribe of Manasseh *they gave* Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, the city of refuge 27

xxxii. 6 ff. etc., see also Is. x. 30; now 'Anāta, three miles N.E. of Jerusalem, cf. *Onom.* 94, 1; 222, 34. *Almon* = Allemeth 1 C. vi. 60 [45], the ruined site 'Almit, close to Anāthoth, on the N.E.

20. *out of...Ephraim*] xvi. 5, 10.

21. For *Shechem* see xx. 7; *Gezer* x. 33.

22. *Kibzaim* is not represented in the LXX.; 1 C. vi. 68 [53] substitutes *Jokmeam*, which may be another name for the same place. *Beth-horon* x. 10.

23. *out of...Dan*] xix. 41—45.
Elteke and *Gibbethon* xix. 44.

24. *Aijālon* x. 12; *Gath-rimmon* xix. 45.

25. *out of...Manasseh*] xvii. 11.
Taanach xii. 21, in 1 C. vi. 70 [55] corrupted to *Aner*. A copyist has accidentally repeated *Gath-rimmon* from the preceding *v.*; the LXX. cod. B reads *Iebatha*, and 1 C. vi. 70 [55] *Bileam* = *Ibleam* xvii. 11, which is no doubt the name wanted here.

27. *out of...Manasseh*] xiii. 29—31.
Golan xx. 8. *Be-eshtĕrah*, if not a scribal error, is probably an abbreviation of *Beth-ashtĕrah*, i.e. *Ashtāroth*, which is the reading in 1 C. vi. 71 [56]; see xii. 4 *n*. The LXX. cod. B gives

for the manslayer; and Be-eshterah with her suburbs; *P*
28 two cities. And out of the tribe of Issachar, Kishion
29 with her suburbs, Daberath with her suburbs; Jarmuth
with her suburbs, En-gannim with her suburbs; four
30 cities. And out of the tribe of Asher, Mishal with her
31 suburbs, Abdon with her suburbs; Helkath with her
32 suburbs, and Rehob with her suburbs; four cities. And
out of the tribe of Naphtali, Kedesh in Galilee with her
suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Ham-
moth-dor with her suburbs, and Kartan with her
33 suburbs; three cities. All the cities of the Gershonites
according to their families were thirteen cities with their
suburbs.
34 And unto the families of the children of Merari, the
rest of the Levites, out of the tribe of Zebulun, Jokneam
35 with her suburbs, and Kartah with her suburbs, Dimnah
with her suburbs, Nahalal with her suburbs, four cities.

Bosora, i.e. Bostra, too far E. to be regarded as in Israelite territory.

28. *out of...Issachar*] xix. 17 ff.
Kishion xix. 20; *Daberath* xix. 12.

29. *Jarmuth* and *En-gannim* xix. 21.

30. *out of...Asher*] xix. 24 ff.
Mishal xix. 26; *Abdon* xix. 28.

31. *Helkath* xix. 25; *Rehob* xix. 28.

32. *out of...Naphtali*] xix. 32 ff.
Kedesh in Galilee xx. 7, xii. 22 *n.*; *Hammoth-dor* xix. 35; *Kartan* unknown, and not mentioned in the list of Naphtali's cities; it is written *Kiriathaim* in 1 C. vi. 76 [61], LXX. cod. B *Themmon*, in Shishak's list, no. 25, Ḳartem.

34. *out of...Zebulun*] xix. 10 ff.
Jokneam xix. 11, xii. 22; *Kartah* perhaps a variant of *Kattath* xix. 15, LXX. *Kades*.

35. *Dimnah* is not in the list of Zebulun's cities; the LXX. om., but 1 C. vi. 77 [62] gives *Rimmono* = *Rimmon* xix. 13; *Nahalal* xix. 15.

36, 37. See margin. The *vv.* certainly belonged to the original text, for they are implied by *vv.* 7 and 38, and without them the totals in *vv.* 40, 41 would be incorrect. Following the LXX., and on the analogy of *v.* 32 etc., the first part of *v.* 36 should read: *And beyond the Jordan at Jericho* (cf. 1 C. vi. 78 [63]) *out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer....*

P [1]And out of the tribe of Reuben, Bezer with her 36
suburbs, and Jahaz with her suburbs, Kedemoth with 37
her suburbs, and Mephaath with her suburbs; four cities.
And out of the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead with her 38
suburbs, the city of refuge for the manslayer, and Maha-
naim with her suburbs; Heshbon with her suburbs, Jazer 39
with her suburbs; four cities in all. All *these were* the 40
cities of the children of Merari according to their families,
even the rest of the families of the Levites; and their lot
was twelve cities.

All the cities of the Levites in the midst of the posses- 41
sion of the children of Israel were forty and eight cities
with their suburbs. These cities were every one with 42
their suburbs round about them: thus it was with all
these cities. |

[1] Verses 36, 37 are not in the Massoretic text, but are found in very many MSS. and in the ancient versions. See also 1 Chr. vi. 78, 79.

out of...Reuben] xiii. 15 ff.
Bezer xx. 8; *Jahaz, Kedēmoth, Mephaath* xiii. 18.
38. *out of...Gad*] xiii. 24 ff.
Ramoth in Gilead xx. 8; *Mahanaim* xiii. 26.
39. *Heshbon* and *Jazer* xiii. 26 and 25.
42. *These cities were*] The Hebr. is unexpected but just defensible, if we take the impf. as a frequentative, lit. *used to be*, cf. the parallel idiom in xviii. 21 *Now the cities...were*; or, as noticed above on xv. 3, the tense may be explained as denoting a command, *These cities shall be*, see *v.* 2, although the rest of the chapter is not thrown into the form of an instruction given by the Lord to Joshua. It would ease the grammar to read the impf. with waw conversive, as suggested by Ehrlich in loc., *So these cities were* (*became*). The LXX. connects the words with the end of *v.* 41: "forty-eight cities, and their suburbs round about (instead of the Hebr. *were*) these cities; a city and the suburbs round about the city, as regards all these cities." This gets rid of the difficult *were*, but we cannot feel sure that it represents the original form of the text.

At the end of this *v.* the LXX. repeats xix. 49, 50: the passage can hardly be original in both places; it is more appropriate where it stands in the Hebr.

The LXX. further adds the following: "And Joshua took the stone knives (lit. swords), wherewith he circumcised the sons of Israel when they were on the road in the wilderness, and laid

43 So the LORD gave unto Israel all the land which he *RD*
sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it,
44 and dwelt therein. And the LORD gave them rest round
about, according to all that he sware unto their fathers:
and there stood not a man of all their enemies before
them; the LORD delivered all their enemies into their
45 hand. There failed not aught of any good thing which
the LORD had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came
to pass.

them up in Timnath-serah." This prepares the way for the legend which the LXX. has preserved in xxiv. 30.

Vv. 43—45 form RD's conclusion to the account of the division of the land, continuing xviii. 10; just as xix. 51 gives P's conclusion.

43. *which he sware*] See i. 6 *n.*

and they possessed it, and dwelt therein] Cf. Dt. xi. 31, xvii. 14, xix. 1, xxvi. 1.

44. *And the LORD gave them rest*] See i. 13 *n.*

there stood not a man...delivered...into their hand] See x. 8 *n.*

45. *There failed not aught*] Lit. *there fell not a word*, cf. xxiii. 14 RD, 2 K. x. 10.

the house of Israel] Cf. Ex. xvi. 31 + seven times P. The LXX. reads *the sons of Israel*, prob. rightly.

all came to pass] Cf. xxiii. 14.

7. *Dismissal of the warriors of the Eastern Tribes: the dispute about their altar*, ch. xxii.

In *vv.* 1—6 RD Joshua dismisses the Eastern Tribes who have helped their brethren to conquer W. Canaan; they have kept their word (i. 12—18 RD), and are now free to return to their homes. *Vv.* 7, 8 appear to contain very late additions, designed to supplement and explain the references to half-Manasseh. The story in *vv.* 9—34 comes from the school of P, as the ideas and language shew: thus the principle of the one legitimate altar in the Dwelling of Jehovah is strongly asserted; Israel has become a religious community, which requires no longer a military leader: Eleazar has vanished (though he is alive in ch. xxiv. *end*), leaving at the head of the people Phinehas the priest and the princes. In the original form of the story *the half tribe of Manasseh* was not mentioned (see *vv.* 25, 32—34), but the omission was afterwards repaired (*vv.* 9—11, 13—15, 21, 30). This Midrash, one of the latest elements in the Hexateuch, is a composition of the same kind as Jud. xx.: it had its origin, most likely, in a story told about some ancient monument down by the Jordan, in the S. of Canaan.

R D Then Joshua called the Reubenites, and the Gadites, 22
and the half tribe of Manasseh, and said unto them, Ye 2
have kept all that Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, and have hearkened unto my voice in all that I commanded you: ye have not left your brethren 3
these many days unto this day, but have kept the charge of the commandment of the LORD your God. And now 4
the LORD your God hath given rest unto your brethren, as he spake unto them: therefore now turn ye, and get you unto your tents, unto the land of your possession, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave you beyond Jordan. Only take diligent heed to do the command- 5
ment and the law, which Moses the servant of the LORD commanded you, to love the LORD your God, and to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and to cleave unto him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul. So Joshua blessed them, and 6
sent them away: and they went unto their tents. |

* Now to the one half tribe of Manasseh Moses had given 7

1. *the Reubenites* etc.] See i. 12 *n.* For *tribe* the ordinary text has *maṭṭeh*, P's word, but thirty-six MSS. read *shēbeṭ*, usual in D.

2. *kept all that...commanded you*] The reference is to Dt. iii. 18—20 and ch. i. 12—18, iv. 12 f. P also tells the story with variations, Num. xxxii. 20—22.

3. *these many days*] See xi. 18 *n.*; for *unto this day*, iv. 9 *n.*

but have kept] The Hebr. has *and ye shall keep*, i.e. *keep therefore*. But this does not agree with the context; so read, with slight changes, after the LXX., *unto this day ye have kept*. The phrase *kept the charge of the commandment* is made up of P's *keep the charge* (Lev. viii. 35, xviii. 30 etc., and Dt. xi. 1) and *the commandment* characteristic of D (*v.* 5; Dt. v. 29, vi. 1 etc.); it occurs only here.

4. *hath given rest*] See i. 13 *n.* For *turn ye...unto your tents* cf. Dt. i. 7, 40, ii. 3, xvi. 7.

the land of your possession] Cf. xxi. 12, 41; this is P's word, e.g. *vv.* 9, 19 and often, shewing that an editor of P's school has revised the present passage, cf. *maṭṭeh* in *v.* 1, *keep the charge*, *v.* 3.

5. *Only take diligent heed to do*] Cf. i. 7, 17 f. and i. 7 f. *n.*; Dt. iv. 9.

to love...to walk...to keep...to cleave...to serve] Cf. Dt. x. 12 f., xi. 13, 22, xiii. 4 f., xix. 9 etc.

7. **And to the** *half tribe of Manasseh*] See xiii. 29—31 and

inheritance in Bashan: but unto the other half gave * Joshua among their brethren beyond Jordan westward. | Moreover when Joshua sent them away unto their tents, ** 8 he blessed them, and spake unto them, saying, Return with much wealth unto your tents, and with very much cattle, with silver, and with gold, and with brass, and with iron, and with very much raiment: divide the spoil of your enemies with your brethren. |

9 And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad *P** and the half tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, to go unto the land of Gilead, to the land of their possession, whereof they were possessed, accord-

xvii. 5—13. *Vv.* 7 and 8 consist of two additions. The first, 7 *a* (to *westward*), was apparently meant to refer to the foregoing section (see *v.* 4); the second, 7 *b* and 8, to prepare the way for the allusions to the half tribe of Manasseh in *vv.* 9—34. Note that in *v.* 6 Joshua has already blessed and sent away these tribes; *v.* 7 *b* makes him do it again!

And also *when Joshua* etc.] For editorial additions introduced in the same way cf. ii. 24, vii. 11, Gen. vi. 4, xl. 15, Ex. iv. 14 etc.

8. *with much wealth*] The word for *wealth* belongs to the later language, 2 C. i. 11, 12, Eccl. v. 18, vi. 2; it is used frequently in Aram., e.g. Ezr. vii. 26, and in the Targum and Peshiṭto. The LXX. om. *and spake unto them, saying*, with the result that the *v.* falls into narrative. Prob. the LXX. is right: with slight corrections, read *And they returned with much wealth to their tents...having divided* (see Driver, *Tenses*, § 163) *the spoil of their enemies with their brethren*. We may suppose that *and spake unto them, saying*, and the consequent changes, were brought into the text to lessen the effect of repeating what *v.* 6 has already said (Dillmann).

9. Here P's story begins, *vv.* 9—34.

the children of Reuben etc.] Contrast *the Reubenites* etc. *v.* 1; cf. xiii. 15 *n.*

the half tribe of Manasseh] It is worth noticing that the late editor who inserted this phrase throughout *vv.* 9—29 and *the children of Manasseh* in *vv.* 30, 31, makes use of D's word *shēbeṭ* for tribe; elsewhere we have found that late additions sometimes draw upon D for material and phraseology; see p. 188.

out of Shiloh] See xviii. 1 *n.* For *the land of Gilead* see xii. 2 *n.*

their possession, whereof they were possessed] Cf. *v.* 19, xxi. 12, 41, Gen. xxxiv. 10, xlvii. 27, Num. xxxii. 30 P.

*P** ing to the commandment of the LORD by the hand of Moses. And when they came unto the region about 10
Jordan, that is in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh built there an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to. And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, 11
the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh have built an altar in the forefront of the land of Canaan, in the region about Jordan, on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel. And 12
when the children of Israel heard of it, the whole congregation of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up against them to war.

according to the commandment etc.] See xix. 49 *n.*

10. *the region about Jordan, that is*] Rather *the circles* (*gelīlōth*) *of Jordan, that are*, cf. *v.* 11. Though *gelīlōth* means *districts* in xiii. 2, such a sense hardly suits the connexion with Jordan. The reference is prob. to *stone-circles*, see xv. 7, xviii. 17 *n.*, forming a sanctuary or monument near *the Jordan* and on the side of *the land of Canaan*. So the Verss. understood the word: Vulg. tumulos, LXX. cod. B here and Pesh. *Gilgal*, as though *gelīlōth* were only *gilgal* in a different form (see on v. 9).

11. **the** *altar in the forefront of the land of Canaan*] There is good reason to believe that the Hebr. prep. (*mūl*), generally rendered *before, in front of*, means strictly *facing the same way as*; see viii. 33 *n.*[1] Accordingly. the altar and the land of Canaan were both on the same side of the river, i.e. on the *West*, as *v.* 10 clearly implies: the Eastern Tribes built their memorial just before they forded the Jordan on their way home; and to remove all ambiguity there is added *on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel*. The LXX., misunderstanding the passage, transfers the altar to the other side: "have built...an altar by the borders (*gebūl* for *mūl*) of the land of Canaan, by Gilead of the Jordan." The reading *gebūl* for *mūl* is adopted by some scholars; but there is no need to change the text when once the meaning of *mūl* is rightly apprehended. For *the altar* cf. Gen. xxii. 9.

12. *And when...heard of it*] LXX., Vulg., Pesh., omit. The repetition of the opening words of *v.* 11 may be due to oversight.

the whole congregation...gathered themselves together] See xviii. 1 *n.*

go up...to war] or *to the warfare*, cf. *v.* 33 and the common phrase in P *go out* or *go to the warfare*, Num. i. 3, 20, iv. 3, 30 etc.

[1] For a discussion of the meaning of the prep. *mūl* see W. A. Wright, *Journ. of Philology* XIII., pp. 117 ff.

13 And the children of Israel sent unto the children of *P** Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, into the land of Gilead, Phinehas the
14 son of Eleazar the priest; and with him ten princes, one prince of a fathers' house for each of the tribes of Israel; and they were every one of them head of their fathers'
15 houses among the [1]thousands of Israel. And they came unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, unto the land of
16 Gilead, and they spake with them, saying, Thus saith the whole congregation of the LORD, What trespass is this that ye have committed against the God of Israel, to turn away this day from following the LORD, in that ye have builded you an altar, to rebel this day against
17 the LORD? Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us,

[1] Or, *families*

13. *the land of Gilead*] The meeting took place there, *vv.* 15, 33, but it is not said that they met where the altar stood; on the contrary, it appears that the altar was on the western side of Jordan.

Phinehas] Cf. *vv.* 30—32, Ex. vi. 25, Num. xxv. 7, 11, xxxi. 6; in these passages P represents Phinehas as Eleazar's successor in the priesthood; yet the death of Eleazar is not recorded till the end of the book, xxiv. 33 E. The name seems to be of Egyptian origin; at any rate *Pi-nehas*, = "the negro," is very common as a pr. n. in Egyptian.

14. *princes*] See ix. 15 *n.* For *head of their fathers' houses* cf. Num. i. 4 etc. and ch. xiv. 1, xix.–51 P.

the thousands of Israel] See Num. i. 16 P. The word is used in a wider and a narrower sense. In connexion with judicial and military arrangements *thousands* denotes the largest division of the people, e.g. Ex. xviii. 21 ff. E, 2 S. xviii. 1; when the reference is to tribal organization, the word corresponds to *clan* (1 S. x. 19—21) or *fathers' house* (as here and Num. i. 16).

16. *trespass...committed*] Cf. *vv.* 20, 31, vii. 1 *n.*; **treachery** rather than *trespass* is the meaning.

rebel...against the LORD] Cf. *vv.* 18 f., 29, Num. xiv. 9 P.

17. *the iniquity of Peor*] Peor is really the name of a place, xv. 59 LXX., Num. xxiii. 28, but here and in Num. xxv. 18, xxxi. 16 P it stands for the name of a heathen god, the Baal of Peor (Num. xxv. 3, 5 E), who most likely was Chemosh, the national god of Moab. The *iniquity* consisted in the unlawful

P* from which we have not cleansed ourselves unto this
day, although there came a plague upon the congregation
of the LORD, that ye must turn away this day from 18
following the LORD? and it will be, seeing ye rebel to-day
against the LORD, that to-morrow he will be wroth with
the whole congregation of Israel. Howbeit, if the land 19
of your possession be unclean, then pass ye over unto
the land of the possession of the LORD, wherein the
LORD'S tabernacle dwelleth, and take possession among
us: but rebel not against the LORD, nor rebel against
us, in building you an altar besides the altar of the LORD
our God. Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit a 20
trespass in the devoted thing, and wrath fell upon all the

and immoral worship offered by the Hebrews to an alien deity; cf. Dt. iv. 3.

cleansed ourselves] The necessity of *cleansing* both in a moral and in a ceremonial sense lies behind most of the Priestly legislation; e.g. Lev. xvi. 19, 30. Tr. the next sentence *when there came* **the** *plague*, expanding *Is the iniquity* etc.; cf. Num. xxv. 8 f.

18. *he will be wroth*] Another characteristic idea of P, cf. *v.* 20, Lev. x. 6, 16, Num. xvi. 22.

19. *if the land...be unclean*] because occupied mainly by heathen, and therefore not hallowed by Jehovah's presence. For this ancient belief see Am. vii. 17, Hos. ix. 3 f.; the LXX. fails to appreciate it, rendering "if your land...be too small."

wherein the LORD'S **Dwelling** *dwelleth*] The *Dwelling* (*mishkān*) is one of P's names for the moveable sanctuary in which Jehovah *dwelt* (*shākēn*) among His people; cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 27, Ex. xxv. 8, xxix. 45; the rendering *tabernacle* obliterates this essential idea. Strictly speaking *the Dwelling* was the fabric of the Holy place and the Holy of holies, formed by the curtains and their framework (e.g. Ex. xxvi. 1, 6, 15 etc.); but *the Dwelling of Jehovah* is also used for the sanctuary in a more general sense, as here and Lev. xvii 4, Num. xvi. 9, xvii. 13 [28] etc. An older name for the sanctuary of the wilderness is *the Tent of Meeting* in which Jehovah *met* His people (e.g. Ex. xxxiii. 7—11 E); and this is used even more frequently by P; see xviii. 1 *n.*

an altar besides the altar of the LORD] The principle that sacrifice was to be restricted to one place, and that the place which Jehovah should choose, was first embodied in the legislation of D, Dt. xii. So firmly established did the principle become that in P it is taken for granted: there is but one sanctuary and one altar (C.-H., *Hexat.*, p. 84).

20. For *Achan's* sin and *treachery* see vii. 1 P.

congregation of Israel? and that man perished not alone P^*
in his iniquity.

21 Then the children of Reuben and the children of Gad
and the half tribe of Manasseh answered, and spake unto
22 the heads of the [1]thousands of Israel, [2]The LORD, the
God of gods, the LORD, the God of gods, he knoweth,
and Israel he shall know; if it be in rebellion, or if in
trespass against the LORD, (save thou us not this day,)
23 that we have built us an altar to turn away from following

[1] Or, *God*, even *God, the* LORD Heb. *El Elohim Jehovah.*

and that man perished not alone in his iniquity] The tr. *that man alone*, though it has the authority of Ḳimḥi (in loc.), is not warranted by usage. Render *Did not...and wrath fell upon all the congregation of I., though he was* (*but*) *one man? did he not perish in his iniquity?* The interrogative must be carried on from the first clause to the second: one man's sin involved the congregation, cf. Num. xvi. 22. The LXX. om. *not*, probably because they found it troublesome; or were they thinking of Dt. xxiv. 16, or of ch. vii. 24, 25 (see LXX.)? The word for *perish*, lit. *expire*, is peculiar to P in the Hexateuch, e.g. Gen. vi. 17. vii. 21 etc.

22. The solemn invocation should be given in the Hebr. words, **El Elohim Jehovah** (only again Ps. l. 1); it is repeated in order to intensify the protestation of good faith. The rendering *God of gods* is incorrect, as may be seen by referring to the Hebr. of Dt. x. 17.

The speakers take up the words of Phinehas, and repudiate the charge of *rebellion* (*v.* 18) and *treachery* (*v.* 16).

(*save thou us not this day*)] addressing the leader of the envoys; the Verss. read the 3rd pers. *let him not save us*; but the M.T. is preferable, and forms a good parallel to *let the Lord himself require it* in *v.* 23. But the whole construction of the passage is awkward, though some would defend it as indicating the agitation of the speakers; a better plan is to regard the clause in brackets as misplaced by accident from its proper position in *v.* 23, and to read thus: "If in rebellion, and if in treachery against Jehovah [we have acted], in building us an altar to turn away from following Jehovah, save thou us not this day; and if to offer thereon burnt offering and meal offering, and if to present sacrifices of peace offerings [we have done this], let Jehovah himself require it." Hebraists may examine Gen. xiii. 9, xlii. 19, Hos. xii. 12, Job ix. 19 etc. for the omission of the verb in the protasis of a conditional sentence, and consult Gesenius, *Hebr. Gr.*[26], § 159 *v* and *dd*, Davidson, *Hebr. Synt.*, § 130 (*a*); and for the idiom *in building* cf. *vv.* 26, 29, and Driver, *Tenses*, § 205. For

P* the LORD; or if to offer thereon burnt offering or meal offering, or if to offer sacrifices of peace offerings thereon, let the LORD himself require it; and if we have not *rather* 24 out of carefulness done this, *and* of purpose, saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with the LORD, the God of Israel? for the LORD hath made Jordan a border between 25 us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no portion in the LORD: so shall your children make our children cease from fearing the LORD. There- 26 fore we said, Let us now prepare to build us an altar,

save us, i.e. in the threatened attack (*v.* 12), cf. x. 6, 1 S. xxiii. 2, 5.

23. *to offer sacrifices of peace offerings*] Hebr. *do*, in a sacrificial sense, as frequently in P e.g. Ex. xxix. 36, 38 f., but also in J e.g. Ex. x. 25, and in D e.g. Dt. xii. 27; cf. the Assyr. *epêshu* = *make, do*, and (of sacrifices) *to present*; the Gk. ἱερὰ ῥέζειν, and in Lat. sacra facere.

require it] Cf. 1 S. xx. 16, 2 S. iv. 11.

24. *out of carefulness*] i.e. *anxiety* as to what may happen in the future; again in Ezek. iv. 16, xii. 18 f., Pr. xii. 25.

of purpose] or *for a (certain) reason*, lit. *word*; cf. v. 4, 1 K. xi. 27 *cause*. The *reason* is explained by *saying*...i.e. considering in our minds....

In time to come] Lit. *to-morrow*, cf. *vv.* 27, 28, iv. 6, 21, Ex. xiii. 14 JE, Dt. vi. 20.

25. *a border between us and you*] The present passage seems to hint at the conditions of later times, when Jehovah's land became confined to Palestine proper; already in Ezekiel's ideal rearrangement of the country (Ezek. xlviii.), the tribes are to dwell only on the western side; the trans-Jordanic country is to be abandoned entirely, for by the prophet's time it had largely severed its connexion with Israel.

ye children of Reuben...Gad] may be an explanatory gloss; LXX. om.

26. *Let us now prepare to build us*] The Hebr. might perhaps = "Let us act for ourselves in building," though such a rendering is hardly supported by usage. When, as here, the verb *to do* or *make* is used without an object, it means *to do (valiantly), act (with effect)*, while it is never used with another verb in the sense *prepare to*. Feeling the difficulty the LXX. inserts *thus* after *let us do*; and it is possible that some word, such as *a sign* (cf. iv. 6), has been omitted; then the sentence will continue *in building us an altar*, cf. on *v.* 23.

27 not for burnt offering, nor for sacrifice: but it shall be a *P** witness between us and you, and between our generations after us, that we may do the service of the LORD before him with our burnt offerings, and with our sacrifices, and with our peace offerings; that your children may not say to our children in time to come, Ye have no portion in
28 the LORD. Therefore said we, It shall be, when they so say to us or to our generations in time to come, that we shall say, Behold the pattern of the altar of the LORD, which our fathers made, not for burnt offering, nor for
29 sacrifice; but it is a witness between us and you. God forbid that we should rebel against the LORD, and turn away this day from following the LORD, to build an altar for burnt offering, for meal offering, or for sacrifice, besides the altar of the LORD our God that is before his tabernacle.

30 And when Phinehas the priest, and the princes of the congregation, even the heads of the thousands of Israel

27. *a witness*] Hebr. *ēd*, cf. *v.* 34, Gen. xxxi. 47—52: a witness of the loyalty of the trans-Jordanic tribes to the one legitimate altar in the West.

do the service of the LORD] In P especially of the *service* of the Levites, Num. iii. 7 f., iv. 23, viii. 11, 19 etc.

with our sacrifices, and with our peace offerings] Two names for the same thing; either one of them should be omitted (cf. *v.* 29), or we should read as in *v.* 23 *with the sacrifices of our peace offerings*; the LXX. cod. B supports the latter correction. Num. xv. 8 cf. 3 needs a similar emendation. Two kinds of sacrifice are distinguished: those of which the worshippers partook (*sacrifices* or *sacrifices of peace offerings*), and those which were wholly burnt upon the altar (*burnt offerings*); cf. viii. 31 *n.*

28. *the pattern of the altar*] i.e. *the building* or *fashion*, as in Ps. cxliv. 12 *the fashion* of a palace; rather than *pattern* or *design*, as the word means in Ex. xxv. 9, 40. There may have been something in the form or construction of an altar dedicated to Jehovah which distinguished it from a heathen altar.

29. For *rebel* see on *v.* 16, *to build v.* 22, *besides the altar v.* 19; *for meal offering* is om. by the LXX., but cf. *v.* 23.

before his **Dwelling**] Theoretically, at this stage of the history, in Shiloh, xviii. 1, but actually, when the Priestly school flourished, in Jerusalem.

30. **and** *the heads of the thousands of Israel*] Prob. an expansion; the LXX. cod. A om. the whole, cod. B all except *of Israel.*

P* which were with him, heard the words that the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the children of Manasseh spake, it pleased them well. And Phinehas 31
the son of Eleazar the priest said unto the children of Reuben, and to the children of Gad, and to the children of Manasseh, This day we know that the LORD is in the midst of us, because ye have not committed this trespass against the LORD: now have ye delivered the children of Israel out of the hand of the LORD. And Phinehas the 32
son of Eleazar the priest, and the princes, returned from the children of Reuben, and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel, and brought them word again. And 33
the thing pleased the children of Israel; and the children of Israel blessed God, and spake no more of going up against them to war, to destroy the land wherein the children of Reuben and the children of Gad dwelt. And 34
the children of Reuben and the children of Gad called the altar [1]*Ed*: For, *said they*, it is a witness between us that the LORD is God. |

[1] That is, Witness.

31. *the son of Eleazar the priest*] The LXX. om. the words both here and in *v.* 32; if they were not considered necessary in *v.* 30, they are not needed here.*

the LORD is in the midst of us] Cf. Lev. xxvi. 11 f. "I will set my Dwelling in the midst of you...and I will walk in the midst of you."

now have ye delivered] Ye did not commit an act of disloyalty, thus (Hebr. *then*) ye delivered Israel from the punishment which would have followed. The Hebr. coordinates the clauses with an adverb of time; in English we should subordinate them.

32. In this *v.* and in 34 (cf. *v.* 25) there is no mention of *the half tribe of Manasseh*, though the LXX. has the phrase in both places. It is easier to believe that the references to Manasseh have been inserted elsewhere in this ch., than that they have been deliberately removed here. These *vv.*, then, shew how the text ran before the insertions were made.

34. The name of the altar has fallen out, but it is given in the Pesh., in some Hebr. MSS. and early editions, by Kimhi in his commentary, etc.; moreover, the explanatory form of cl. *b* implies the presence of the name *Ēd*, cf. Ex. xvii. 15, 16 (R.V. mg.) and Gen. iv. 25, Ex. ii. 10 etc.

a witness...that **Jehovah** *is God*] i.e. the true God. Such an

23 And it came to pass after many days, when the LORD *RD*
had given rest unto Israel from all their enemies round
about, and Joshua was old and well stricken in years;
2 that Joshua called for all Israel, for their elders and for
their heads, and for their judges and for their officers, and
3 said unto them, I am old and well stricken in years: and
ye have seen all that the LORD your God hath done unto
all these nations because of you; for the LORD your God,
4 he it is that hath fought for you. Behold, I have allotted
unto you these nations that remain, to be an inheritance
for your tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that
I have cut off, even unto the great sea toward the going

explanation is thoroughly in keeping with the later theology, although the story itself rather suggests that the altar was *a witness* between the two divided parties, just as *the cairn of witness* in Gen. xxxi. 47 f. Originally perhaps the altar had been set up for the sacrifice which ratified some ancient league or covenant, cf. xxiv. 27 and Ex. xxiv. 4 ff. A later age put its own interpretation upon the origin and meaning of the monument.

8. *Joshua's first and second farewell: the covenant,* chs. xxiii.—xxiv.

Ch. xxiii. professes to be a farewell speech delivered by Joshua in his old age to the leading representatives of the people, and thus forms a parallel to ch. xxiv. It is composed throughout in the manner of Deut., and by a writer who was familiar with Deut. much in its present form; for his language echoes that of the closing chs. (Dt. xxviii. ff.), as well as that of the chs. which precede the central portion of Deut. (xii.—xxvi.).

We can hardly suppose that RD himself composed the present ch., for he intended ch. xxiv., which he took over from E, to provide the conclusion of the book. Most probably, therefore, ch. xxiii. was added after the Dtc. redactor had finished his work by another writer of the same school; the speech may be described in fact as a late *haggādah*, or edifying discourse, in the Dtc. style.

1. *after many days...given rest...enemies round about*] Cf. xxi. 44, xxii. 3, 4, Dt. xii. 10.

old and well stricken in years] Cf. xiii. 1 *n.*

2. *all Israel...their elders* etc.] See iii. 7 *n.*, viii. 33, xxiv. 1.

3. Like Moses in Dt. xxix. 2 ff., Joshua appeals to the evidence of history; cf. *v.* 10, iv. 21—24, x. 14, 42.

4. *I have allotted...to be an inheritance*] See xiii. 6 *n.* The text of the sentence following needs a slight rearrangement; read *that remain...from all the nations that I have cut off, from Jordan*

*RD** down of the sun. And the LORD your God, he shall 5
thrust them out from before you, and drive them from
out of your sight; and ye shall possess their land, as the
LORD your God spake unto you. Therefore be ye very 6
courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the
book of the law of Moses, that ye turn not aside therefrom
to the right hand or to the left; that ye come not among 7
these nations, these that remain among you; neither
make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to
swear *by them*, neither serve them, nor bow down your-
selves unto them: but cleave unto the LORD your God, 8
as ye have done unto this day. For the LORD hath 9
driven out from before you great nations and strong:
but as for you, no man hath stood before you unto this
day. One man of you [1]shall chase a thousand: for the 10
LORD your God, he it is that fighteth for you, as he spake
unto you. Take good heed therefore unto yourselves, 11

[1] Or, *hath chased*

even unto the great sea. The R.V. has already inserted *unto* before *the great sea*, as the sense requires. Cf. i. 4 *n.*

5. For the Dtc. expressions *thrust them out from before you*, **dispossess** *them, possess their land* cf. Dt. vi. 19, ix. 4; ch. iii. 10 *n.*, i. 15. After *from before you* the LXX. reads "until they perish, and he will send against them the wild beasts of the field until he dispossess them and their kings from out of your sight." This is quite in accordance with Dt. vii. 20—24; if it stood originally in the text, as it may well have done, some Hebr. editor must have reduced the sentence to *and dispossess them from out of your sight.*

6. This *v.* echoes the Dtc. language of i. 6—8.

7. To call upon heathen gods by name is forbidden in Ex. xxiii. 13, apparently an editorial addition to the Book of the Covenant; cf. Ps. xvi. 4. For the rest of the *v.* cf. Dt. iv. 19, v. 9, viii. 19 etc.

8 *cleave...unto this day*] See xxii. 5, 3 *n.*

9. *great nations and strong*] Cf. Dt. iv. 38, ix. 1 etc. For *no man hath stood* cf. x. 8 *n.*

10. *One man of you shall chase a thousand*] From Dt. xxxii. 30; cf. Lev. xxvi. 7 f. Neither text nor marg. brings out the force of the Hebr. tense: as the appeal is to the past, render *used to chase*, or *would often chase.*

11. *Take good heed therefore unto yourselves*] So Dt. ii. 4, iv. 15 etc. For *love* cf. xxii. 5 *n.*

12 that ye love the LORD your God. Else if ye do in any *RD** wise go back, and cleave unto the remnant of these nations, even these that remain among you, and make marriages with them, and go in unto them, and they to
13 you: know for a certainty that the LORD your God will no more drive these nations from out of your sight; but they shall be a snare and a trap unto you, and a scourge in your sides, and thorns in your eyes, until ye perish from off this good land which the LORD your God
14 hath given you. And, behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth: and ye know in all your hearts and in all your souls, that not one thing hath failed of all the good things which the LORD your God spake concerning you; all are come to pass unto you, not one thing
15 hath failed thereof. And it shall come to pass, that as all the good things are come upon you of which the LORD your God spake unto you, so shall the LORD bring upon you all the evil things, until he have destroyed you from off this good land which the LORD your God hath
16 given you. When ye transgress the covenant of the

12. Marriages with the heathen are forbidden in Dt. vii. 3; cf. Ex. xxxiv. 16 RJE. Such marriages led to the ruin of Israel's religion, Jud. iii. 6.

13. *a* **trap** *and a* **snare**] The Canaanites are often said to have been left in the land for *a snare*, e.g. Ex. xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 12, Dt. vii. 16. The other figures in this *v.* seem to be taken from Num. xxxiii. 55 P *as pricks in your eyes, and as thorns in your sides*, cf. Jud. ii. 3; but they are varied here. The word for *scourge* in a slightly different form means *whip* in 1 K. xii. 11, 14 etc.; the LXX. gives a guess, "nails in your heels." The rendering *thorns* is perhaps justified by the similar word in Job v. 5, Pr. xxii. 5; *hooks* or *barbs*, however, has the support of the form in Am. iv. 2.

until ye perish] Cf. Dt. vii. 20, xxviii. 20, 22.

14. *I am going the way of all the earth*] So RD in 1 K. ii. 2. For *all your hearts...all your souls* cf. Dt. iv. 29 and often.

not one thing hath failed] See xxi. 45 *n.*

15. Jehovah has His **good word**, but He has also His **evil word**; the reference is to the threats in Dt. xxviii. 15 ff., 63, xxix. 27. The R.V. *good things, evil things*, hardly does justice to the Hebr.

16. *When ye transgress the covenant*] Lit. *by reason of your*

R_D* LORD your God, which he commanded you, and go and serve other gods, and bow down yourselves to them; then shall the anger of the LORD be kindled against you, and ye shall perish quickly from off the good land which he hath given unto you. |

E And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, | 24

transgressing; see vii. 11 *n*. The LXX. improves the grammatical structure by connecting this sentence with the end of *v*. 15, and omits *then shall the anger...given unto you*, which merely repeats Dt. xi. 17.

Ch. xxiv. contains several noteworthy features. Joshua, the sole leader of Israel and conqueror of Canaan, assembles the tribes at Shechem, and binds them by a covenant to the service of Jehovah, in whose name he delivers a parting exhortation. The allusions to past history (*vv*. 2—13), to the idolatry practised by the fathers (*vv*. 2, 14 f.), to the oak at Shechem, and the bones of Joseph (*vv*. 26, 32), make it evident that the ch. is derived from E; the language also points in the same direction (e.g. *the Amorites vv*. 8, 12, 15, 18, *strange gods vv*. 20, 23; and see notes on *vv*. 12, 19, 25). In so far as the conquest is regarded as complete (*vv*. 12 *b*, 18), E approaches the standpoint of RD (pp. 115, 116); while the general tone of Joshua's address, and details of language here and there, shew that the older style was beginning to be influenced by a new school of prophetic writers. Dtc. additions appear in *vv*. 1 *a*, 11 *b*, 13, 31, and suggest that RD took over this portion of E to form the conclusion of his book. Later touches in the Dtc. manner may be seen in *vv*. 4, 6, 7, 8, 17 etc.

1. *to Shechem*] Cf. xx. 7 *n*. The present narrative, like that of viii. 30—35 RD, implies that Shechem was entirely in Israel's hands before the death of Joshua, whereas Jud. ix. shews that it was still mainly Canaanite in the period which follows. It is remarkable that Joshua and his army are never said to have captured Shechem, or the highland of Ephraim in which it is situated: the explanation may be that this part of the country was occupied not by force of arms, but by peaceful alliance, as in the case of the Gibeonite territory (ch. ix.). There are indeed traditions which tell how Shechem passed into the possession of Israel, but they give contradictory accounts; thus Gen. xlviii. 22 E does not agree with *v*. 32 infr. and Gen. xxxiii. 19 E. Underlying this conflict of evidence we seem to detect a form of early tradition which remembered that all the tribes did not migrate to Egypt, and that Shechem continued to be more or

and called for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, *Rd*
and for their judges, and for their officers; | and they *E*
2 presented themselves before God. And Joshua said unto
all the people, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel,
Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the River, | even *
Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor: |

less Israelite since its original conquest by Jacob[1]. For *Shechem* the LXX. reads *Shiloh* here and in *v.* 25, to harmonize with xviii. 1, 6, xix. 51.

and called for...their officers] From Rd, see xxiii. 2 *n*

they presented themselves] or *stationed themselves*, for a certain purpose; in this sense the word is used in the earlier literature, e.g. Ex. ii. 4 E, ix. 13, xiv. 13 J, xix. 17 E, Num. xi. 16 JE etc.; contrast the other meaning, *to stand*. in i. 5, Dt. vii. 24 etc. *before God*, i.e. in the sanctuary; cf. Ex. xviii. 12 E.

2. *beyond the River*] i.e. the Euphrates, cf. *vv.* 3, 14, 15, Ex. xxiii. 31 E mg.

Terah...Nahor] A gloss intruded to explain *your fathers*: see Gen. xi. 24 P. In J Nahor is the brother of Abraham, Gen. xi. 29, xxii. 20; in P the name is borne by his grandfather and brother, Gen. xi. 24, 26.

and they served other gods] The worship of heathen gods by the ancestors of Israel in Mesopotamia is not directly mentioned elsewhere in the O.T., though it is implied by the references to Nahor, Laban, and Jacob's household in Gen. xxxi. 19, 29 f., 53, xxxv. 2 E; see also Judith v. 6 f. Moreover tradition connected Abraham with the two chief centres of the moon-cult in ancient Babylonia, Ur of the Chaldees in the S., and Ḥaran in Northern Mesopotamia (Gen. xi. 28, 31 P, xv. 7 J and *ib.* xi. 31 f., xii. 4 P, xxvii. 43, xxviii. 10, xxix. 4 J); this certainly points to some contact with the worship of Sin, the moon-god, and so do the names of Abraham's wife and niece; Sarai (? *princess*) corresponds to *Sharratu* the consort of Sin, and Milcah (*queen*) to *Malkatu* a title of Ishtar, both worshipped at Ḥaran. Possibly the names Terah and Nahor may be connected with Aramaean deities (*KAT.*[3], pp. 484, 477). Late Jewish legend plays freely with the subject of Abraham's life among the worshippers of *other gods* in his Chaldean home: thus in Jubilees (second cent. B.C.) chs. xi. and xii. we are told that he separated himself from Terah that he might not serve idols with him, and that he tried to convert his father from idolatry. According to the Midrash

[1] See Kittel, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.*[2], pp. 595, 600 f.; Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 422.

E and they served other gods. And I took your father 3
Abraham from beyond the River, and led him throughout
all the land of Canaan, and multiplied his seed, and gave
him Isaac. And I gave unto Isaac Jacob and Esau: and 4
I gave unto Esau mount Seir, to possess it; and Jacob and
his children went down into Egypt. And I sent Moses 5
and Aaron, and I plagued Egypt, according to that which
I did in the midst thereof: and afterward I brought you

Gen. R. xxxviii. Terah was a maker of images, which Abraham broke in pieces and burned[1].

In contrast to E, J represents the earliest ancestors of Israel and the Mesopotamian kindred of Abraham as worshippers of Jehovah.

3. *And I took your father Abraham*] See Gen. xii. 1—4 *a* J. The LXX. om. *of Canaan*; but the name is required here. The expression *land of Canaan*, though most frequent in P, e.g. xxii. 9—11, Gen. xii. 5, is not confined to P, e.g. Gen. xlii. 5 ff. JE.

and multiplied his seed] Cf. Gen. xiii. 16 J, xv. 5 E, xxii. 17, xxvi. 4 J etc.

4. *mount Seir*] The mountain range of the 'Arābah, from the S. of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of 'Aḳābah, the home of Esau, Gen. xxxii. 3 J, xxxvi. 8 P, Dt. ii. 4 f. The word *to possess it* has a Dtc. sound (cf. i. 11 *n.*), and may be an addition.

Jacob...went down into Egypt] See Gen. xlvi. 1 E, 6 f. P. At the end of the *v.* the LXX. adds "and they became there a nation great and populous and mighty, and the Egyptians evil entreated them." Some regard this as original, and accidentally omitted by a scribe whose eye glanced from *Egypt* to "the Egyptians" (homoioteleuton); on the other hand it may be merely an expansion taken from Dt. xxvi. 5 f.

5. *And I sent Moses and Aaron*] Cf. Ex. iii. 10, iv. 27 f. E, 1 S. xii. 6, 8. The LXX. om. the words, which are perhaps hardly needed after the addition to *v.* 4; but in the Hebr. form of the text they are indispensable.

according to that which I did] LXX. cod. A, Pesh., *with the signs which* [*he*] *I did*: this may well be original, and has the support of Ex. iii. 20 E.

[1] The fullest collection of Rabbinic legends from second cent. A.D. onwards (translated into German) is that of Beer, *Leben Abraham, nach Auffassungen der Jüdischen Sage* (1859); some of these are put together in an attractive, popular form by M. R. James, *O.T. Legends*, pp. 27—32. See also *Jewish Enc.* s.v. Abraham; and Winckler, *Abraham als Babylonier*, 1903.

6 out. | And I brought your fathers out of Egypt: | and ye * *E*
came unto the sea; and the Egyptians pursued after
your fathers with chariots and with horsemen unto the
7 Red Sea. And when they cried out unto the LORD, he
put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought
the sea upon them, and covered them; | and your eyes *R*D
saw what I did in Egypt: | and ye dwelt in the wilderness *E*
8 many days. And I brought you into the land of the
Amorites, which dwelt beyond Jordan; and they fought
with you: and I gave them into your hand, and ye
possessed their land; and I destroyed them from before
9 you. Then Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab,
arose and fought against Israel; and he sent and called
10 Balaam the son of Beor to curse you: but I would not
hearken unto Balaam; therefore he blessed you still:

6. *I brought your fathers out of Egypt*] merely repeats the end of *v.* 5, with the change of *you* into *your fathers*: an addition, made by the same hand which changed *you* into *your fathers* again in this *v.*, and *you cried* into *they cried* in *v.* 7. The text has been edited to make it agree with the view that the generation which came out of Egypt died in the wilderness, Dt. ii. 14. The LXX. connects *vv.* 5 and 6 thus: "and afterward he brought our fathers out of Egypt."

pursued after] Cf. Ex. xiv. 8, 9 P. *unto the Red Sea* looks like a gloss upon the previous *unto the sea*: the LXX. gives "unto the Red Sea" in both places.

7. *and when they cried*] See on *v.* 6, and cf. Ex. xiv. 10 E.

he put **thick darkness**] The text of Ex. xiv. 20 J, which is badly preserved, seems rather to say that "when it was dark, the cloud lit up the night."

and your eyes saw] A Dtc. expression, Dt. iii. 21, iv. 3, xi. 7; and *ib.* iv. 34. *many days* also has a Dtc. colour (xi. 18 *n.*, Dt. i. 46), but may be an instance of the language of E approaching that of D.

8. *the Amorites*] See x. 5 *n.*; and for the defeat of the Amorites on the E. of Jordan, Num. xxi. 21—24 *a* E.

9. *Balak...fought against Israel*] contradicts Jud. xi. 25 (cf. Dt. ii. 9) and Num. xxii.—xxiv., where no mention is made of a war between Moab and Israel, though Balak had it in mind (Num. xxii. 11). Perhaps *and fought against Israel* is an editorial expansion: the use of the name *Israel* suggests this.

10. *but I would not hearken unto Balaam*] So Dt. xxiii. 5 *nevertheless Jehovah thy God would not hearken unto Balaam.* The LXX., however, reads here "and the Lord thy God would

E so I delivered you out of his hand. And ye went over 11
Jordan and came unto Jericho: and the men of Jericho
RD fought against you, | the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and
the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Girgashite, the
E Hivite, and the Jebusite; | and I delivered them into
your hand. And I sent the hornet before you, which 12
RD drave them out from before you, | even the two kings of
the Amorites; not with thy sword, nor with thy bow

not destroy thee": this may have been the original form of the text, for which the present reading was substituted in order to agree with the later estimate of Balaam's character (e.g. Dt. l.c.). See on xiii. 22, and cf. Gray, *Numbers*, p. 320.

11. *the* **citizens** *of Jericho*] Lit. *possessors, lords* (plur. of *ba'al*); cf. Jud. ix. 2 ff., xx. 5, 1 S. xxiii. 11 f. etc. What is said here about the inhabitants of Jericho goes beyond the narrative of ch. vi. The list of the seven nations must be an insertion: see on iii. 10.

12. *And I sent the hornet before you*] Cf. Ex. xxiii. 28 E, Dt. vii. 20, Wisd. xii. 8. Hornets attack in swarms and with great fury when their nests are disturbed, but they do not attack without provocation; so that, strictly speaking, to describe them as advancing in front of the Israelite host and driving out the Canaanites is not true to nature. For this reason some would take the word *ṣir'ah* in a metaphorical sense, and give it the meaning of the Assyr. *ṣiru* = "serpent," here the sacred serpent or uraeus on the crown of the Pharaoh, supposing the allusion to be to some early invasion of Canaan by the Egyptians which rendered the task of the Israelites easier. But is this more credible than the usual view, that *the hornet* is an expressive figure for *the terror* which Jehovah promised to *send before* His people (see Ex. xxiii. 27) when they set out to conquer Canaan?

[*even*] *the two kings of the Amorites*] Elsewhere always Sihon and Og; but the defeat of these has been alluded to in *v.* 8. After the capture of Jericho, we expect a reference to the kings on the *West* of Jordan; so for *two* the LXX. reading *twelve* is to be preferred, i.e. the kings of Jericho and Ai (viii. 1 f., x. 1), the five kings mentioned in x. 3 ff., the four in xi. 1 ff., and one other (so Bennett); or possibly the allusion may be to the great defeat at Gibeon (ch. x.), in which E may have imagined that the twelve tribes overcame twelve kings (so Holzinger). But perhaps the clause did not appear originally in E; the abrupt way in which it is placed in apposition to *drave them out from before you* makes it look like an addition (so C.-H.).

with thy sword, nor with thy bow] has no grammatical connexion with what precedes, for the subject of *drave out* is *the hornet*, and

13 And I gave you a land whereon thou hadst not laboured, *R*
and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell therein; of
vineyards and oliveyards which ye planted not do ye eat. |
14 Now therefore fear the LORD, and serve him in sincerity *E*
and in truth: and put away the gods which your fathers
served beyond the River, and in Egypt; and serve ye
15 the LORD. And if it seem evil unto you to serve the
LORD, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether
the gods which your fathers served that were beyond
the River, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land
ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve the
16 LORD. And the people answered and said, God forbid
that we should forsake the LORD, to serve other gods;
17 for the LORD our God, he it is that brought us and our
fathers up out of the land of Egypt, | from the house of *R*
[1]bondage, and that did those great signs in our sight, | and *E*

[1] Heb. *bondmen*.

the pron. changes suddenly from plur. to sing.; an insertion, therefore, based upon Gen. xlviii. 22.

13. This *v.* is a free quotation from Dt. vi. 10, 11.

14. *Now therefore fear the* LORD*...in sincerity and truth*] Cf. 1 S. xii. 24. Jud. ix. 16, 19 (the same words, *truly and uprightly*).

put away the gods] Cf. *v.* 2. Gen. xxxv. 2 E. In spite of the ideal picture given in xxiii. 8, there is plenty of evidence that the mass of the people, while not renouncing Jehovah, remained semi-pagan throughout the early period of the history, and even after the return from exile.

and in Egypt] There is no explicit reference elsewhere to Israelite idolatry in Egypt; and indeed Egyptian influences had remarkably little effect upon the religion of Israel. The speaker has in his mind native beliefs and practices, such as were associated with the terāphim and the golden calves (Ex. xxxii.).

15. For the great alternative cf. 1 K. xviii. 21 ff. The choice lay between a moral and a non-moral religion, between the service of Jehovah, the God of righteousness, and the sensual worship of the Baālim and the Ashtāroth (*the gods of the Amorites*), which always had a strong attraction for the average Israelite.

16. Cf. xxii. 29.

17. *that brought us...up*] JE's expression; the Dtc. equivalent is *brought us out*. *and our fathers* is probably a correction as in *v.* 6. The two clauses which follow have been added by RD, or some Dtc. editor, and both are omitted by the LXX.; for *from the house of bondage* (lit. *of slaves*) cf. Ex. xx. 2 *b* RD etc.,

E preserved us in all the way wherein we went, and among all the peoples through the midst of whom we passed: and 18
the LORD drave out from before us all the peoples, even the Amorites which dwelt in the land: therefore we also will serve the LORD; for he is our God. And Joshua said 19
unto the people, Ye cannot serve the LORD; for he is an holy God; he is a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgression nor your sins. If ye forsake the LORD, 20
and serve strange gods, then he will turn and do you evil, and consume you, after that he hath done you good. And the people said unto Joshua, Nay; but we will 21
serve the LORD. And Joshua said unto the people, 22

for *and that did...in our sight* cf. Dt. vi. 22, vii. 19, xxix. 2 f. [1 f.].

and preserved us...went] Cf. Gen. xxviii. 20, Ex. xxiii. 20 **E**.

18. *all the peoples, even*] Prob. an addition (cf. *v.* 11 *n.*), for E represents *the Amorites* as the dwellers in the land.

19. A momentary outburst of enthusiasm is not enough; Jehovah makes an arduous moral claim (cf. on *v.* 15); His service must spring from the conviction that there is a God who will not endure a rival, nor overlook wrong-doing. Such was the distinctive principle of Israel's religion, first grasped (we may infer) by Moses, and afterwards developed by the prophets and made central in their teaching.

Ye cannot serve the LORD] "and other gods as well" is necessary to complete the thought.

for he is an holy God] Is v. 16 shews how the prophets developed what is involved in the conception. The Hebr. for *holy* is here plur. agreeing with *Elohim* (*God*), which is plur. in form though sing. in meaning: cf. *the living* (plur.) *God* Dt. v. 26, 1 S. xvii. 26, 36, and Hos. xii. 1 (Hebr.). There are other instances in E of *Elohim* being construed with a plur., e.g. Gen. xx. 13 (*caused me to wander*, pl.), xxxi. 53 (*judge*, pl.), marking perhaps the survival of earlier modes of thought. But how far from the writer's mind was any tinge of polytheism is proved by the next phrase *a jealous God* (*El*); cf. Ex. xxxiv. 14 J, and *ib.* xx. 5 RD, Dt. iv. 24, vi. 15; Nah. i. 2. With the last sentence of this *v.* cf. Ex. xxiii. 21 E, to be contrasted with *ib.* xxxiv. 7 J, where this attribute of the divine nature receives its due qualification.

20. *strange gods*] i.e. **foreign** *gods*; so elsewhere in E, *v.* 23, Gen. xxxv. 2, 4, Dt. xxxi. 16 JE, Jud. x. 16; contrast *other gods vv.* 2, 16, which became D's expression, e.g. Dt. vii. 4 etc., Jud. x. 13. After all that Jehovah has done for His people (*vv.* 2—13), the one thing He will not tolerate is false worship.

22. The people's reply seems to be an addition: it interrupts

Ye are witnesses against yourselves that ye have chosen *E*
you the LORD, to serve him. | And they said, We are *R*
23 witnesses. | Now therefore put away, *said he*, the strange *E*
gods which are among you, and incline your heart unto
24 the LORD, the God of Israel. And the people said unto
Joshua, The LORD our God will we serve, and unto his
25 voice will we hearken. So Joshua made a covenant
with the people that day, and set them a statute and an
ordinance in Shechem. |

Joshua's speech (note *said he* inserted by R.V. in *v.* 23), and is om. by LXX.

23. For the third time the people profess their loyalty: cf. the solemn repetitions in xxii. 22.

25. *Joshua made a covenant with the people*] This was a renewal of the covenant which *Jehovah made* at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 8), but with a fresh emphasis upon the people's part in the agreement: they solemnly pledged themselves to the exclusive service of Jehovah; the same point is emphasized in the covenants which belong to the later history, 2 K. xi. 17, xxiii. 3, Neh. x. 28 ff. Joshua follows the customary usage in ratifying his covenant. (1) There is the gathering of the people to listen to the terms, here called *a statute and an ordinance*, as in Ex. xv. 25 (where *proved* suggests a connexion with *ib.* xvii. 7), elsewhere *the book of the covenant* Ex. xxiv. 7 E, or *these words ib.* xxxiv. 27 J, or *the blessing and the curse* ch. viii. 34[1]. Then came (2) the covenant sacrifices, *the burnt offerings* and *the peace offerings* Ex. xxiv. 5 E, ch. viii. 31; the blood of the former was sprinkled on the altar and on the people, the latter furnished the sacred meal, Ex. xxiv. 5, 6 E, 11 J. The present passage makes no mention of the covenant sacrifices; they are taken for granted. Lastly (3), *stones* or *pillars* (*maṣṣēboth*) were set up as witnesses or memorials of the covenant, Ex. xxiv. 4; in ch. viii 32 (cf. Dt. xxvii. 2 ff.) these were inscribed with the covenant terms; here the *stone* is supposed to have heard Jehovah's words to the people, and therefore it could serve as a witness.

made a covenant...in Shechem] It is to be noted that Shechem

[1] It has been suggested that E originally placed the entire code Ex. xx. 22 xxiii. 33, the so-called Book of the Covenant, between *vv.* 25 and 26 of the present narrative: Holzinger, *Hexat.*, p. 179, *Josua*, p. 99; Steuernagel, *Josua*, p. 242, *Einl. in d. A. T.* (1912), pp. 154 f., 280. But this code as a whole cannot be described as containing the terms of a covenant to observe the exclusive worship of Jehovah, and its original position was prob. at the end of the narrative of the wanderings; see C.-H., *Comp. of Hexat.*, p. 209 *n.*, McNeile, *Exodus*, p. xxviii.

* And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law 26
E of God; | and he took a great stone, and set it up there
under the oak that was [1]by the sanctuary of the LORD.

[1] Or, *in*

had ancient associations with the observance of a religious covenant. The local deity, as we learn from the early narrative of Jud. ix., was known as *Baal-bĕrith* or *El-bĕrith, the Baal* or *God of the covenant* (that is, between himself and his worshippers); and he had a temple in the city, where, we may suppose, the covenant was commemorated or periodically renewed; Jud. ix. 4, 27, 46. Moreover, ch. viii. 30—35 describes what was in fact the ratification of a covenant, and places the scene on the mountain beside Shechem; possibly this may be only another and a later version of the act recorded in the present narrative; but in any case it shews how closely Shechem was connected with the covenant rite. Was it, then, this traditional connexion which led E to place Joshua's gathering at Shechem? Just as the old Canaanite sanctuary on the spot had been taken over by the Israelites, so the old Canaanite Baal-bĕrith, the Covenant-god, came to be regarded as a manifestation of Jehovah, the God of the Israelite covenant. In Jud. viii. 33, however, the Dtc. compiler will have nothing to do with such an assimilation, and treats Baal-bĕrith as the pagan deity he originally was.

For *in Shechem* the LXX. gives "in Shiloh before the tent of the God of Israel"; cf. on *v.* 1.

26. *these words*] Apparently the terms contained in the *statute and ordinance* of *v.* 25, which Joshua incorporated into the roll of the Mosaic law; for *the book of the law of God* would naturally mean, as elsewhere, the Dtc. code, cf. i. 8, viii. 34, or the Priestly Code, cf. Neh. viii. 8, 18. The whole sentence seems to be an addition, suggested perhaps by Ex. xxiv. 7 E, xxxiv. 27 J.

a great stone] For the same purpose as the twelve *pillars* or *standing stones* in Ex. xxiv. 4. This particular stone is prob. mentioned again in Jud. ix. 6.

under the oak that was **in** *the sanctuary of the* LORD] LXX. "under the terebinth before the Lord." The sacred tree at Shechem is referred to by several names, *the terebinth of Moreh*, i.e. "the oracle-giving terebinth," Gen. xii. 6, Dt. xi. 30; *the terebinth which was by Shechem* Gen. xxxv. 4; *the terebinth of Meonĕnim*, i.e. "of the soothsayers," Jud. ix. 37; *the terebinth of the pillar ib. v.* 6. This tree, or the divinity inhabiting it, was believed to give oracles; cf. 2 S. v. 24, and perhaps Jud. iv. 5. For other sacred trees, the survivals of primitive tree-worship, cf. Gen. xviii. 1, Ex. iii. 2, Jud. vi. 11 etc.; and such are still to be met with in Palestine to-day.

27 And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone *E*
shall be a witness against us; for it hath heard all the
words of the LORD which he spake unto us: it shall be
therefore a witness against you, lest ye deny your God.
28 So Joshua sent the people away, every man unto his
inheritance.
29 And it came to pass after these things, that Joshua
the son of Nun, the servant of the LORD, died, being an
30 hundred and ten years old. And they buried him in
the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which

The above reff. indicate that this *sanctuary of Jehovah* was a holy place long before the invasion. Like other seats of early worship, which owed their sacred character to lower forms of religion, Shechem became a sanctuary for the Israelites as it had been for the Canaanites; patriarchal legends were attached to it, and in this way it was claimed as having been Israelite from the beginning, and used for the worship of Jehovah.

27. *this stone shall be a witness*] Like the stone set up by Jacob (or Laban), Gen. xxxi. 45, 51 E, and cf. ch. xxii. 34. It was thought to be inhabited by the divine presence; cf. Gen. xxxv. 7 E, where *the place*, i.e. the shrine, is called the El of Bethel.

Vv. 28—31 are reproduced in Jud. ii. 6—9, with minor alterations: *v.* 31, however, which stands at the end of the present passage, in Jud. ii. comes after the opening verse; the difference of position suggests a later insertion into the narrative of E. Here the LXX. follows Jud. in the order of the *vv.* Probably the whole group, including *v.* 31, was taken over from Jud., and restored to its original context so as to form a suitable conclusion to Josh., when the division of the two books was made (Moore).

29. *Joshua...the servant of the* LORD] See on i. 1.

an hundred and ten years old] The same age as Joseph, Gen. l. 26 E. Supposing Joshua, like his companion Caleb, to have been forty at the time of the exodus (xiv. 10), and allowing forty years for the wanderings, his death would have occurred thirty years after the crossing of the Jordan. Probably the period of Joshua and the elders who outlived him was reckoned at forty years in the scheme of chronology which is applied to the following age; see *Judges*, C.B., p. xxvii.

30. *Timnath-serah*] See xix. 49, 50 *n.* *Gaash* has not been identified: *the wadis of Gaash* are referred to in 2 S. xxiii. 30 = 1 C. xi. 32.

After this *v.* the LXX. adds an interesting note: "there they laid with him, in the tomb wherein they buried him, the knives (lit. swords) of flint with which he circumcised the sons of Israel in Gilgal, when he brought them out of Egypt, as the Lord com-

E is in the hill country of Ephraim, on the north of the
*R*D mountain of Gaash. | And Israel served the LORD all 31
the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that
outlived Joshua, and had known all the work of the
E LORD, that he had wrought for Israel. | And the bones 32
of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out
of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in the parcel of ground
which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father
of Shechem for an hundred pieces of money: and they
became the inheritance of the children of Joseph. And 33
Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in

manded them; and they are there to this very day"; see v. 2—9, and cf. the addition made by the LXX. at xxi. 42. These LXX. additions may well have been current in Hebr., but that they ever belonged to the Hebr. text of Joshua is extremely doubtful; they look like an attempt to find room for the arresting, but rather trivial, detail of a popular story or local tradition. Holmes, however, thinks that they were deliberately cut out of the original Hebr. text by a reviser, who was unwilling to admit that any Israelites had not been circumcised in Egypt (*Joshua*, p. 9).

31. *the elders*] Cf. vii. 6 *n.*; as the head men of families and clans, they would take a leading part in maintaining the customs and religion of the people. The *v.* is made up of Dtc. expressions: *that outlived*, lit. "that prolonged days after," cf. Dt. iv. 26, 40 etc.; *all the work of the* LORD *that he had wrought for* or *done to*, cf. Dt. xi. 7, ch. iv. 23 *n.*

32. *the bones of Joseph*] E now records the fulfilment of Joseph's directions, which had been carefully remembered at the exodus, Gen. l. 25, Ex. xiii. 19 E. The burial of the bones at Shechem may have happened before the death of Joshua, since the house of Joseph had been settled for some years in the neighbourhood. The account of the way in which Shechem became an Israelite possession is based upon Gen. xxxiii. 19 E; see on *v.* 1.

pieces of money] The Hebr. word *ḳesīṭah* occurs only here, Gen. l.c., Job xlii. 11 (R.V. m.); the Verss. give it the traditional meaning *lamb*; probably it was the name of a coin or weight.

and they became the inheritance] What does the plur. verb refer to? Shechem and its surrounding land, or the bones of Joseph? Probably the plur. is merely a slip for the sing. LXX. cod. A and Luc. reads "and he gave it to Joseph for an inheritance," a natural correction; cod. B. after *a hundred pieces of money* goes on "And it came to pass after these things that Eleazar" etc.

33. *Eleazar the son of Aaron*] is frequently mentioned in P,

[1]the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in *E*
the hill country of Ephraim. |

[1] Or, *Gibeah of Phinehas*

but in E only here and Dt. x. 6 (? E): the reference is important as shewing that in the tradition preserved by E, as well as in the view of P, Aaron was the founder of an hereditary priesthood. If this *v.* came from P we should have had "Eleazar *the priest*," as in xiv. 1, xvii. 4 etc.

in **Gibeah** *of Phinehas*] and not in any of the places assigned by P to the children of Aaron, xxi. 10—18; another indication that P is not the source of this *v.* The position of *Gibeah of Phinehas* cannot be made out; Jos., *Ant.* v. 1, 29, says that Eleazar was buried at Gabatha, which might = Gibbethon xix. 44, if the latter were not too far from Mt Ephraim. The *Onom.* 248, 2 speaks of a Geba five Roman miles from Gophna (Jifnā); this Geba may be the present Jibiā, three and a half miles S.E. of Tibneh? = Timnath-serah. See Buhl, *Geogr.*, p. 170 *n.* The Jewish-Samaritan tradition, which places the grave of Eleazar and Phinehas at 'Awertah, S.E. of Nāblus, where it is still shown, cannot be taken seriously.

Contrary to the analogy of Joshua, Eleazar was buried, not in his own inheritance, but in that of his son. It is hardly necessary to suppose that the *v.* originally recorded the death and burial of *Phinehas*, and that *Eleazar* is the substitution of a scribe (so Holzinger); for after the account of Joshua's end, the narrative fitly closes with this notice of another leader and contemporary.

The LXX. adds a final paragraph concerning the ark and Israel's unfaithfulness: "In that day the sons of Israel took the ark of God, and carried it about with them. And Phinehas acted as priest in the room of Eleazar his father until he died, and he was interred in Gibeah, their [city]. And the sons of Israel departed every man to his place and to his own city. And the sons of Israel began to worship Astartē and Ashtaroth and the gods of the nations round about them; and the Lord delivered them into the hands of Eglon king of Moab, and he had dominion over them eighteen years." It is not likely that this formed part of the original Hebr. text of Joshua, though it goes readily into Hebr.; it seems to be a generalization founded on the Dtc. comments in the book of Judges; the last clause is derived from Jud. iii. 14.

INDEX

Aaron, the children of, 195
Abraham in Babylonia, 214 f.
Achan, xxx., 52 ff., 57, 60, 62, 205
Achor, 52 f., 60 f., 138
Achsah, 142 f.
Adam (city), 23, 25
Adoni-zedek, xxxi., 84
Adummim, the ascent of, 138
Ai, capture of, xxix. f., 52 ff., 62 ff., 65
Aijālon, 89, 197
Akrabbim, the ascent of, 136
all Israel, xvii., 18, 20, 25, 60, 62, 67, 92, 94 f., 99, 210
alliances with natives, xxvi., xxx., 74 ff., 77, 83, 213
altar, at Ebal, 71 f.; in the temple, 81 f.; the one legitimate, 200, 205; by the Jordan, 203, 205, 208
Amarna tablets, xxiii.–v.; illustrating history of Joshua's time, 10, 42; names of places in, 84, 85, 89, 98, 107, 114, 146, 151, 161, 176, 186, 191
ambush, the, 62 ff., 68
Ammon, Ammonites, 109, 127, 163
Amorites, the, xxi.–iii., 33, 54 f., 86, 111, 119 f., 216 f.
Anākim, the, 85, 99, 106 f., 134, 141 f.
'Anāth, the goddess, 151, 184
Anāthoth, 193, 196 f.
Aphek, 119 f.
Appian, 51
Arab customs, 46, 61; historian quoted, 25
'Arābah, the, 23 f., 67, 100, 109
el-'Arīsh, the wadi, 118, 135, 137
ark, the, xxxiv., 18 f., 44 f., 46; of Jehovah, 18, 54; of the covenant, 18 f.; of the testimony, 19, 31
armed (*ḥamūshim*), 7
Arnon, the river, 108 f., 122, 127
Aroer, 108, 127
Ashdod, 107, 119, 149
Asher, tribe and territory, 178–180
Astartē ('Ashtōreth), 110, 119 f., 180, 218, 224
asylum, privilege of, 189
Augustine, St, xx.
avenger of blood, the, 189 f.
Avvim, the, 119

Baal, Baālim, 218
Baal-bērith, 221
Baal-gad, 105, 111, 120
Babylonian civilization in Canaan, xxiii. f., 58, 114
Balaam, 126, 216 f.
Bashan, 110, 129, 157, 163
Beer-sheba, 135, 145, 173
Benjamin, territory of, 116, 167–172
Bēt Jibrīn (Eleutheropolis), 148
Beth-aven, 53, 168
Bethel, xxix. f., 53, 68, 154, 168, 171

Beth-horon, xxxi., 83 ff., 87 f., 154, 169, 197
Beth-lehem, xxix., 151
Beth-shean (Scythopolis), 191
Beth-shemesh, 140, 185
beyond Jordan, 33, 75, 108, 131
Bezaanannim, the terebinth of, 182
Bezer, 192
blessing and the curse, the, 72, 74
book of the law, this (D), 6, 72, 221
border was...and a border, the, 126, 149
burnt offerings, 72 f., 208

Caleb, xxvii., 85, 96, 132 f., 141, 196
calendar, Hebrew and Babylonian, 31 f.
Canaan, pre-Israelite, xxi.–vi., 10, 58, 114; land of, described, 75, 100, 104, 111; nations of, xxii. f., 21, 75 f., 217; conquest of, xv. ff., xix. f., xxviii. ff., 1 f., 75, 94, 99, 108, 117, 162, 166, 213
Canaanites, the, xxi. f., xxvi., 33, 54 f., 119, 212; the southern, xxxi., 83 ff., 94; the northern, xxxi. f., 99 ff.; extermination of, xix., 81, 104, 105 f.; in the midst of Israel, xxx. f., 50, 83
Central Palestine, occupation of, xxx., 71, 153, 213
chariots of iron, 48
Chemosh, 204
Chinnéreth, lake and town, 100, 109, 128, 183
chronology of the conquest, 133, 222
circumcision, xxviii., 33, 37, 199, 222 f.
citizens (*ba'ālē*) *of Jericho*, 217
Clement of Rome, 10
congregation, the (P), 74 f., 79, 81, 165, 191, 193, 203
copy of the law (D), 73
covenant at Sinai, xxxiv., 55, 73 f., 220; at Ebal, 73 f.; at Shechem, xxxii., 220; rites, 71, 74, 78, 220; Book of the (Ex. xx. 22–xxiii. 19), 188, 211, 220; *transgress the covenant* (D), 55, 212 f.; ârk of the, 18 f.
curse, the, 72, 81

D, the Deuteronomic source, xiii., 2 f., 6–8, 18 f., 21, 29, 71 ff., 94, 108, 116, 121, 129, 188 ff., 193, 210 f.; Deuteronomic school, xix. f., xxxiii., 6, 116, 210; difference of views, xvii., 99, 105 f., 133; language of, 106, 188 f.; see RD
ed-Dāmiyeh, the ford, 23, 25
Dan, tribe and territory, 146, 184–187; the city, 187
Dante, xx., 59
daughters (i.e. dependent villages), 145, 149
Debir, xxvii., 96, 99, 141 f.
Deborah, Song of, xxxii., 182, 185; history of, xxxii., 99, 182
destroy (D), 56, 81
deuteronomion, 73
devote, devoted thing (*ḥérem*), 47 f., 49, 94, 97, 112
Dibon, 122
division of the land, xxxii., 115, 121, 123, 130 ff., 165 ff., 200
Dor, 101, 161
Dwelling, the (*mishkân*, P), 205, 208

E, Elohist source, in the history of the conquest, xvi., 1, 2 f., 7, 8 f., 17, 42, 62, 65, 67 ff., 75, 77 ff., 83 f., 86 f.; in Part ii., xvi., 115, 187, 213 ff., 220 ff., 224; and see JE, RJE

Ebal, altar on, 71 f.
Eber, xxvi.
Ēd (= witness), the altar, 208 f.
Egypt, suzerainty of, in Canaan, xxiv.; commerce with, xxiv.; exodus from, xxv., xxxv., 79, 216, 218, 223; idolatry in, 218; Miṣraim, Muṣur, 137; watercourse of, see el-'Arīsh; Egyptian documents referred to, 5, 34, 85, 100, 107, 140, 142, 174, 178, 181, 204, and see Amarna tablets, Shihor, Shishak, Thothmes III.
Ekron, 118, 149, 185
El Elohim Jehovah, 206
elders, the, 54, 65, 190 f., 223
Eleazar, xviii., 81, 116, 131, 159, 165, 194, 209, 223 f.
Eleutheropolis, see Bēt Jibrīn
En-gannim, 177 f.
En-gedi, 152
En-rimmon, 146, 174
En-rogel, 139
En-shemesh, 138
Ephraim, territory of, xviii., 116, 153, 155 f., 160
equipped (*ḥalūṣim*, D), 7, 30
Esdraēlon, Plain of, or Great Plain, or Plain of Megiddo, 149, 161, 164, 174 f., 177
excavations in Palestine, xxviii., 42, 49, 85, 95, 103, 114, 140, 148
extermination of Canaanites, see Canaanites

family, families, 50, 56 f.
fenced cities, 92, 183
fire-offerings, 123
flax, 11
folly, 57
fords of Jordan, xxvii., 11, 23, 25
foreskins, hill of the, 34
forest, the, 162 f.
fragments of ancient survey of the conquest, xv., 115, 123, 141, 152, 162, 186 f.
front of, in, see *mūl*

Gad, tribe and territory, 126–128, and see Reuben
Galilee, 114, 182 f.
Gaza, 98, 107, 118 f., 149
Geba (= Jeba'), 171
Gebal, 120
gēr, the, 192 f.
Gerizim, 71 ff.
Geshurites, the, 118, 122
Gezer, 48 *n.*, 95, 156 *n.*
Gibeah of Benjamin, Gibeath (= Tell el-Fūl), 171 f.
Gibeah of Phinehas, 224
Gibeon (= el-Jīb), 74, 76, 79, 84, 89, 171, 196; battle at, xxxi., 83 ff.
Gibeonites, treaty with, xxx., 74 ff., 105, 213
Gilead, 109, 122, 126 f., 157, 162, 202, 204
Gilgal, situation of, 32; camp at, xxviii., 29, 32, 63, 86 f., 92 f., 132, 167; sanctuary of, 32, 36 f., 72; stones at, 17, 26, 72 f.; circumcision at, xxviii., 33 ff., 37; explanation of name, 36; passover at, 33, 38
Godhead of Jehovah, xxxiv., 12, 209 f., 219
gods of the Semitic world, xxxiv., 12, 211, 218; *strange* (i.e. foreign) *gods*, 213, 219
gō'ēl, the, 189 f.
goings out, the, 139, 154 f., 168, 170
Golan, 192
Goshen, 98
Gullath, 143

Ḥabiru, the, xxv., 85
hailstorm, the, 88, 91
Halak, Mt, 105
Hamath, the entering in of, 120
Hammon, 180; = Tiberias, 183

hanging, death by, 70 f., 93
Hannington, Bp, 91 *n.*
harden their hearts, to, 105 f.
Ḥaurān, Jebel, 110
Hebrews as distinct from *Israelites*, xxvi.
Hebron, xxvii., 5, 85 f., 96, 99, 115, 132, 134, 141
ḥérem, 47, 51 f., 55, 57, 112, and see *devote*
Hermon, 105, 110, 112
Herodotus, 107
Heshbon, 108, 124, 199
hewers of wood and drawers of water, xxx., 80
Hexateuch, xii. f.
Hiel the Bethelite, 51
high priest, the, 191
Highlands, the, or hill country, 75, 100, 149
Hinnom, valley of, 139, 169
history, appeal to, xx., 21, 32 f., 210 f.
Hittites, the, xxii., 4 f., 77
Hivites, the, xxiii., 75 f., 77, 105
holy (*plur.*) *God, the* (E), 219
homeborn, the (P), 73
Homer, 91
Horites, the, 77
Hormah, xxvii., 112
hornet, the, 217
horns, blowing of, 41, 44, 48
host of the Lord, the, 39
hough, to, 102
Ḥūleh, lake, 99, 102

idolatry of Israel's ancestors, 213 f., 218 f.
incantation, 91
inheritance, i.e. possession, 121; laws of, 158 f.
invasion from S., the, xxvi., 142; from E., xxvii., 2 ff.
iron, use of in Palestine, 48, 163 f.
Israel, territory of, 3, 75, 117 ff., 121; and see *all Israel*
Israelites as distinct from *Hebrews*, xxvi.
Issachar, tribe and territory, 177 f., 182 f.

J, Jehovist source, in the history of the conquest, xv. f., 1, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 27, 29, 34, 39, 42 f., 45, 52, 54, 62, 67, 69, 75, 77 ff., 82, 83 f., 92, 99, 101 f.; in Part ii., xvi., 115 f., 153; fragments of ancient survey, xv., 123, 141 ff., 152, 156, 161 f., 165, 186 f.
Jabbok, the river, 109, 126 f., 129
Jabin king of Ḥazor, 99 f., 182
Jair, the tent-villages of, xxiii., 129
Jashar, the book of, 90
JE, xvi. f., 1, 17, 21 ff., 31, 42, 158; and see RJE
Jebusites, xxiii. f., 21, 75, 139, 172
Jehovah (Jahveh), nature of, xxxiv., 219; moral claim of, xxxiv. f., 18 f., 218, 219; the God of Israel, xxxiii., 6, 18 f., 56, 221, and see covenant; supreme Godhead of, 12, 21, 209 f.; His *name*, 55, 77, 206; His army, 39; His acts on behalf of Israel, xx., 5, 12, 16, 21, 33, 210, 215 ff., 219
Jericho, name and site, 9; capture of, xxviii., 40 ff.; rebuilding of, 51; excavation of, xxviii., 42 f., 49
Jerusalem, 84, 139, 170, 194 f.
Jezreel, 164, 177
Joppa, 186
Jordan, crossing of the, xxvii., 2, 16 ff., 22 f., 25 f., 31, 33; fords of, xxvii., 11; sources of, 187; valley of, 23, 125, 128; a boundary line, 126, 128, and see *beyond Jordan*

Joseph, xxix. f., 223; tribe and territory, 115, 121, 132, 162–164, and see Ephraim, Manasseh
Josephus, 9, 10, 177 f., 182, and *passim*
Joshua, leader of the tribes to Gilgal, xxix., 16; leader of Josephites in the conquest, xxix.; represented as leader of all Israel, xvii., 2, 18, 94 f., 99; represented as the victorious conqueror, xvi. f., 17, 94 ff., 99 ff., 103 ff., 108, 112, 115, 166, 213; an historical person, xxix., 2, 88 ff., 162, 164; his name and mission, 3, 20 f., 39; as sole leader, xxix., 74 f., 165, 213; subordinated to Eleazar, xviii., 81, 110, 131, 159, 165, 194; his first farewell, 210 ff.; his second farewell, 213 ff., 220; his death and burial, 222
Joshua, the Book of, sources and literary structure, xii. f., xiv.–ix.; in Part i., 1 f., in Part ii., 115 f.; estimate of the history contained in, xxvi. ff.; its religious character, xxxiii.–vi.
jubile (= ram), 44
Judah, early exploits of, xxvii., 115, 131; territory of, 115, 130 ff., 135–152

Kadesh-barnēa, 98, 133, 136
Kanah, the watercourse of, 156, 160
Kedesh (in Naphtali), 114, 182, 184, 191, 198
el-Ḳelt, wadi, 61, 138, 168
Kenaz, Kenizzites, xxvii., 132, 142 f.
Kenites, the, xxvii., 85, 142
Ḳimḥi, 67, 76, 90, 206, 209
kings of Canaan, xxv., 10, 83, 86, 99 f.; list of conquered, 108 ff., 111 ff.
Kinnéreth, see Chinnéreth
Kiriath-arba, 134, 141, 150, 191, 196
Kiriath-jeārim, 80, 140, 152, 169, 172
Kiriath-sepher, 142
knives of flint, 34, 199, 222 f.

Lachish, 85, 95
Lebanon, 3 f., 75, 120 f.
Leshem, 187
Levites, 19, 31, 81, 193; their portion, 123, 130, 132, 167; their cities, 193–199
list of nations, xxiii., 21, 75 f., 101, 111
living God, the, 21, 219
lot, the sacred, xxviii., 115, 131, 153, 165 f.; ordeal by, 52, 56; = portion, 135, 162 f.
Lowland, the, see Shephēlah
Luz, 154, 168
LXX., see Septuagint

Machir, 126, 129 f., 157
magic, 91
Makkēdah, 87, 92
Manasseh, 121, 130, 153; western, 121, 130, 160 f., 162; eastern, 7, 30, 111, 117, 121, 128, 130, 200 ff., and see Reuben; genealogy of, 130, 157; territory of, xviii., 157–164
manna, 38
mantle of Shinar, 58 f.
Marēshah, 148
marriage, 143, 158, 212
maṣṣēboth, 220
Maṣṣoth, 38
Mēdeba, 122, 124
Megiddo, 113 f., 161
Meneptah, 140
Merom, waters of, xxxi., 99, 102
Midian, chiefs of, 125

Midrash Rabbah, 10, 39, 173, 215
Mizpah, Mizpeh, 101, 102, 171
Moab, land of, 108 f., 122, 124 f., 127, 130
months, designation of the, 31 f.
Moses in history, xxxv.; religious influence of, xxxiii.–vi.
mourning, 54
mūl (= in front of), 73, 75, 203

Nāblus, see Shechem
Naphtali, tribe and territory, 174, 178, 182–184
nations of Canaan, see Canaan
Negeb, the, xxvi., 97, 143, 144–146
Nephtoah, the waters of, 140, 169
nethīnim, the, 82
New Testament references to Joshua, 3, 10
Nowairi (Arab historian), 25

oath, the, 13, 14, 51
offer, to (lit. *to do*), 207
officers (*shōṭĕrim*), 6, 73
Og, kingdom of, 110, 123
only, 8, 123
Othniel, xxvii., 96, 142 f.

P, Priestly source, in history of the conquest, xiii., xviii., 2, 17, 30 f., 38, 74 f., 79 f., 82; in Part ii., xiii., xviii., 115 ff., 124, 130, 153, 157, 165, 172, 188, 193 f., 200, 202–209 (P*), and see Rp
Palaetyrus, 180 f.
passover at Gilgal, 33, 37 f.
peace offerings, 73, 207 f.
Pentateuch and Joshua, xii. f., 116
people, organization of the, 56, 204, 208, and see *tribe*
Peor, 204
Perizzites, the, xxiii., 163
Peshiṭto Version, x., 66, 119, 145, 179, 202, 203, 215, 223
Phinehas, 200, 204, 209, 224
Phoenicians, the, 119, 177, 180 f., 186
piece of money (*ḳesīṭah*), 223
Pisgah, 109 f., 125
Plain, the Great, see Esdraēlon
plain, the (*mīshōr*), 124
plains ('*arboth*) of Jericho, 9, 30; of Moab, 31, 130
poetry, Hebrew, 88 ff., 91
possess (D), 7, 117, 166, 211
possession (P), 201, 202
possession (R.V. *inheritance*), 121
praise, give, 58
priests, 19 ff., 31, 40 f., 45, 48, 193, 195
priests the Levites, the (D), 19, 73
princes of the congregation (P), 74, 79, 204
proselyte, see *gēr*

Rabbah, Rabbath-ammon, 127
Rabbinic traditions and exegesis, 10, 19, 39, 59, 61, 71, 183, 192, 214 f.
Rahab, 10, 13 ff., 49 f.
Ramoth in Gilead, 192, 199
Rd, Deuteronomic redactor, xvii.; in history of the conquest, 1 f., 8, 16 f., 42, 52, 62, 74, 83, 99, 108 etc.; in Part ii., 115 f., 165, 188, 200, 210 (Rd*), 213 etc.
rearward, the, 45
rebuilding of a city after the ban, 51
refuge, the cities of, 188–193
religion of Israel, in time of Joshua, xxxiii.–vi.; its distinctive principles, xxxv., 12, 19, 218, 219
Rephāim, the, 110 f., 163; valley of, 139 f.
Reuben, 124, 202; territory of, 124–126, 199
Reuben, Gad and half Manas-

seh, 7, 30, 111, 117, 121 f., 123 f., 204, 209
River, beyond the, 214
RJE, redactor of J and E, xvi. f., 1, 14, 46 f., 66, 87, 115, 132, 165
rose up early (JE), 17, 46, 57, 65
RP, Priestly redactor, xviii., 2, 19, 42, 47 f., 52, 57, 60 f., 92, 94, 116, 125, 130, 149, 153, 157, 159, 166, 196

sacrifices, xxxiv., 72, 207 f., 220; human, 51 f.
Salt Sea, the, 24, 136; bays of, N. and S., 136 f., 170
Samaritan Version, 72; hostility, 72, 153
Samson, 185
sanctify, 20, 56, 191
sanctuaries, xxxii., 36, 40, 72, 76, 114, 171, 184 f., 189, 191, 193 f., 203, 222
sanctuary, right of, 188 f., and see asylum
Sarai, 214
scarlet line or *string*, 13, 15
Scott, 152
Scythopolis, see Beth-shean
Seir, Mt, 215
selfsame day, the (P), 38, 93 f.
Sennacherib, inscrr. of, 86, 118 *n.*, 181, 185 f.
Septuagint, important variants, ix. f., 14 f., 38, 41, 44 f., 57, 64 ff., 67, 82, 88 f., 92 f., 94, 124, 129, 131, 134, 151, 157, 167, 186, 188, 195, 198, 199, 202, 203, 211, 214, 215, 217, 222 f., 224
servant of the Lord, the, 2
Sharuhen, 174
Shechem, xxxii., 72, 158, 191, 213 f., 220 f.
shekel, 59
Shephēlah, the, 75, 144, 146 ff.
Shihor, 118, 179
Shiloh, 116, 130 f., 165, 167, 188, 202, 214
Shinar, 58 f.
Shishak's list, 89, 114, 177, 180, 198
Shittim, 9
Shur, 118
Sihon, kingdom of, 108, 123, 128
Simeon, tribe and territory, 147, 172–174
slopes, the, 97, 109, 125
sojourner, the, see *gēr*
South, the, see *Negeb*
spies, the, 8, 53
stones, the memorial, 26 f., 32; sacred, 26, 71 f., 73; *pillars* (*maṣṣēboth*), 220, 222; heap of, 61, 93, 210
stoning, death by, 61
Strabo, 51
suburbs (P), 132, 194
sun and moon, 89–91

Taanach, 103, 113 f., 161, 197
Tabor, 178, 183
Talmud, 10, 41, 61, 71, 183, 190
Targum, 10, 23, 76, 202
taskwork (*mas*), 156 f.
tell (mound, heap), 70, 103 f.
Tell el-Ḥesy, 85, 103
temple, the, xxx. f., 48, 50, 81, 193
temple slaves, xxx. f., 81, 83
Tennyson, xxi., 91
tenses in specifications of the borders, 136, 160, 199
tent of meeting, the, 165, 205
Tertullian, 3
Thothmes III.'s list, 98, 100, 113 f., 161, 174, 177, 179 f., 183 f., 186
thousand (tribal division), 204, 208
three days, 7, 18, 79

Tiberias, 183
Timnath-serah, 187, 200, 222
treasury, the temple, 48
trees, sacred, 182, 221
trespass (P), 52, 204
tribe (*shēbeṭ*, JE, D), 56, 202; (*maṭṭeh*, P), 57, 124, 201
tribes, the twelve, 27 f.; the eastern, 7, 30, 116 ff., 122, 200 ff., 203; the western, 116, 117, 121, 131, 172
trumpet, 41, 44
Tyre, 180 f.

unawares (D), *unwittingly* (P), xix., 189
Ushū, 181

Vulgate, 14, 66, 73, 76, 80, 119, 134, 143, 168, 179, 203, 223

watercourse of Egypt, the, 135, 137, 149, and see el-'Arīsh
waters of Jericho, the, 9, 154; of En-shemesh, 138, and see Merom, Nephtoah
wealth, 202
wilderness of Bethel, the, 154; of Judah, 152; of Maon, Ziph, Tekoah, 151 f.; of Zin, 98, 135
witness, altar of, see *Ēd*
writing, use of, 166

Yarmuk, the river, 109, 110, 127, 129

Zebulun, tribe and territory, 174–176, 178 f., 183
Zelophehad, the daughters of, 158 f.
Zidon, 102 f., 180
ez-Zōr, 23

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